National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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Pro-Slavery.

In this Department we give place to such extracts from the Pro-Slavery Press, North and South, as serve best to illustrate the character of Slavery and the spirit of its champions and apologists.

ANNIVERSARY WEEK.

From Bennett's Herald.

ONE of the most peculiar traits of metropolitan society is the heterogeneous assemblage of pharisees, enthusiasts, pious old ladies, and strong-minded women of an uncertain age, who flock to this city from the rural districts and from New England to the May anniversaries. Two years ago the intensity of the war excitement kept them away. Last year they reappeared to a considerable extent. This week they are back again in full force; and the amount of stupendous lying, pharisaical cant, infidel profanity and Abolitionist treason that has been given utterance to during the week, in the churches and public places where these societies have held their reunions, has been perfectly appalling.

In the way of steep lying let us take as a specimen brick the report of the American and Foreign Christian Union. * * * The reports of the other societies are got up on a good deal the same principle of sticking at nothing in the way of a bouncing lie. Simple-minded deacons, who know more about raising onions than they do about the operations of the human mind, and old spinsters, who must have some hobby, greedily gulp down any fable that the most reckless parson invents for them, and pull up from the recesses of their spacious pockets and old-fashioned reticules enough to keep the concern going on for another year, when the same process is repeated, only in an exaggerated form, if that were possible. This, therefore, is the harvest week of hypocritical humbugs who are too lazy or too worthless to turn to any honest employment.

If the May celebrations here were restricted to the religious societies they would prove little attractive. Their proceedings are usually as dull as the intellect of their supporters. But the strong minded women, the abolition fanatics and the addle-headed philosophers of the rural districts all flock here at the same time, with an invincible itching for notoriety, and caring little what fools they make of themselves so that they can get an audience to listen to them and can see their names printed in the morning papers. We have reported the proceedings of the Anti-Slavery Society and of the Loyal Woman's League, as being the only anniversaries that had any spiciness in them. Wendell Phillips was the great actor in the Abolitionist comedy, and talked more treason in five minutes than Vallandigham could descant in as many hours. Why Copperhead should be sent to Dixie or the Dry Tortugas, and Silver Tongue permitted to crucify President Lincoln and his entire Cabinet with impunity, is a question to which we should like a satisfactory answer. They ought certainly to be paired off, chained together by the ankles; and if that punishment would not bring Vallandigham to true repentance it would be only because he is incorrigible.

As to the Women's Convention, that which was originally designed for a most patriotic and praiseworthy motive has been distorted into an atheistical, revolutionary woman's rights movement, under the leadership of Lucy Stone, Susan B. Anthony and Ernestine L. Rose. At their meeting in the Church of the Puritans one of the progressive spirits boasted that she belonged to no sect or creed, political, religious or moral, and another questioned the existence of a divinity.

It is of such elements that our May anniversaries are largely compounded. All the snivelling hypocrites, abolition traitors and crazy women of New York and New England congregate here at this time, and find a theatre for the recital of their fables, the spouting of their treason and the exhibition of their antics. Great is New York.

From The New York Observer.

It is painful to notice the increased and excited spirit of vituperation and ultra fanaticism that pervaded the abolition speeches at several meetings. We say it is painful, because at such a time as this when the nation is rent with intestine war, and it is of infinite importance to unite all men in the single work of restoring the Union and the Constitution, and especially when the whole country has just been called upon by the President to pray for the restoration of the nation to its former happy condition of unity and peace, it is a shame and a sin for any man to say as Mr. Beecher is reported to have said at the Anniversary of the American Home Missionary Society:

"I say boldly that rather than have the States to resume their places under the Constitution with the system of slavery in them, all just as it was before, I had rather give every child that I have; I had rather embark on a war of twenty years, with all its suffering and all its blood; and a war of twenty years, much as its miseries would be, would be cheap compared with the untold wretchedness of this nation if we undertake the Union again with slavery flourishing and rampant" (great applause).

The President of the United States, and all loyal patriotic men who love the Union and hate slavery, are anxious to see the Union restored with the Constitution as it is, and then to do and suffer all that is necessary to remove the curse of slavery from the land. But we record our emphatic protest against the "great applause" with which the Home Missionary meeting received the disloyal and anti-government doctrine of Mr. Beecher. We stand fast by the Constitution and the Administration that supports it, and we write him an enemy who is not praying and working to restore the Union in all its integrity.

Still more disloyal was the language of Wendell Phillips at the Anti-Slavery meeting. Speaking of our government, he said:

"We had monkeys in human attire at Washington; they were determined to compromise, and the South flung nuts at them for eighteen months, and they were on all-fours for the temptation (applause). Routine, West Point and rotten Whiggery should be sloughed off from the government as they sloughed off Essex and Fairfax in Cromwell's time."

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"He believed there never would be victory while Halleck was in command. The old proverb said a fool was never a great fool until he had learned Latin, and he thought a man was never incorrigible till he had graduated at West Point (applause). While slavery existed there was danger to the Union. Abraham Lincoln was not President of the United States—the Cabinet controlled him. The first slave to be emancipated was Lincoln (applause). If the government would not obey advice they must obey reverses."

Such infamous language as this is applauded; but scores of men have been put to death in war times for the utterance of words not half so treasonable. The man wants the government to "obey advice" (!), the advice of such men as he, and if not they must "obey reverses." Another of the editors of *The Independent* boldly took the ground that the black race was in all respects superior to the white race on this continent, declaring that universal amalgamation of the whites and blacks is to take place until the black becomes the dominant race by having absorbed the whites.

We make these records to note the progress of opinion among the leaders of the abolition party who now demand the control of the government. Their creed is fully avowed. twenty years (if necessary) of war! the annihilation of the Southern cities!! and AMALGAMATION!!!

A NEW WAR ISSUE.—The hour when danger's troubled night shall depart and the star of peace return has been indefinitely postponed. "What woman wills," says the French proverb, "heaven wills"; and the "women of America," in conclave assembled at the Church of the Puritans, yesterday resolved that peace should never be made in this republic while "women are placed at the mercy of a legislation in which they are not represented." The emancipation of the slaves is no longer the final term of war. Amalgamation itself will not satisfy the Cassandras of the Administration. Mr. Tilton, with his lovely project for redeeming the Union by an extensive manufacture of ideal mulattoes is no better than a Copperhead in the eyes of the daughters of Dr. Cheever. He must prepare for a trip to Liberia or for hard labor upon the London *Times*, these being the alternatives which the Loyal Female Leagues of Union Square have laid down as the destiny of all who shrink from according to corkscrew curls and pink silk bloomers their legitimate share in the administration of the country. We trust, however, that Mr. Tilton will vindicate his rights against this Amazonian onslaught. Let him bring the batteries of *The Independent* to bear at once upon these formidable females. The more the combat deepens the better for all the world beside. Tilton may fall in the fray, but the blood of the martyr is the seed of the Church.—*World.*

Selections.

THE BRIGHT SIDE OF ONE YEAR'S HISTORY.

[From the Twenty-ninth Annual Report of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society we copy the following admirable summary of the progress of the Anti-Slavery Cause during the year 1862. It is hardly necessary to say that it is from the pen of that clear-sighted and ever faithful friend of the slave, MARY GREW.]

IN these dark days of the Republic there is light in the dwelling of the slave. The mighty revolution which has changed the aspect of all things around us, and evoked a war which is striking fatal blows at commercial prosperity and domestic happiness; which has bathed the land in blood and in tears, and which threatens our national existence, is slowly and surely destroying its own cause, the system of American slavery. Of the four million of slaves, to whose deliverance our life-long labors were pledged, more than three million were, on the morning of the first day of January, 1863, declared by the highest law of the land, thenceforward and forever free; and Northern Abolitionists, from Maine to Minnesota, joined with the Freedmen of the rice-swamps and cotton-fields, from Carolina to Texas, in the glad shout of "Glory to God in the highest!" The day of America's jubilee has dawned at last; and we who have watched and striven through the dark night of her despotism, now hail that dawning with joy and gratitude unutterable; and in faith and hope wait for the ascending of its sun to the zenith.

It is a pleasant task to trace the tokens of our nation's progress during the past year. Some of the most unmistakable of these are found in the enactments of Congress. On the 25th of February, 1862, the House of Representatives passed, by a vote of eighty-three yeas against forty-two nays, a bill forbidding any person connected with the army or navy, on penalty of dismission from the service, to aid in the return of fugitive slaves to their masters; and on the 10th of March following, the bill was passed in the Senate, by a vote of twenty-nine yeas against nine nays. Though, regarded abstractly, this prohibition on the part of a government fighting for the maintenance of free institutions against slaveholding rebels, seems less remarkable than the necessity for its utterance; when viewed in connection with the past history of our nation, and the long existing relations between the North and South, it is evidently a triumph of liberty. As such it was gratefully hailed by the Abolitionists.

A profounder gratitude, a higher joy was ours, when freedom was proclaimed to every slave in the District of Columbia. That was the first ripe sheaf of the full harvest unto which the Abolitionists, toiling in the patience of hope, for thirty years, had looked steadily forward, with soul-inspiring faith. We garnered it with unutterable, almost silent, joy; conscious, even then, conscious now, that the greatness of the event, and its far-reaching influences, were but half comprehended by the nation or by ourselves. Partly by reason of its greatness; partly because of our assured faith through all those years of toil, that it would come. Our vivid anticipation had familiarized the reality. Yet we remember well when it was accounted a bold action to sign a petition to Congress for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, when to circulate such petitions exposed the applicant to insult, and when the right of such petitioning was denied on the floor of Congress. There was one whose hoary head, and spotless life, and patriotic service, proved no shield against the scoffs and threats of the haters of freedom ministering at her desecrated altars, when he stood there, the champion of that sacred right of petition; one who, dying in those halls, forever associated his name with faithful service there, and went up to heaven with the words of his testimony against slavery upon his lips; to await this hour when the scene of his conflict, the Capital of our nation, should be purified from its pollution, and be newly and worthily dedicated to liberty.

The 16th day of April, 1862, will be remembered in years to come, as an epoch in our country's history. On that day, the President of the United States affixed his signature to the bill which declared "That all persons held to service or labor in the District of Columbia, by reason of African descent, are hereby discharged and freed of and from all claim to such service or labor; and, from and after the passage of this act, neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except for crime, whereof the party shall be duly convicted, shall hereafter exist in said District." This bill had, on the third day of April, passed the Senate by a vote of twenty-nine yeas against fourteen nays, and on the eleventh of April it had been passed, in the House, by the overwhelming vote of ninety-two yeas to thirty-eight nays.

The testimony to the safety and general beneficence of this act, borne by the Abolitionists before its accomplishment, was reiterated by their opponents when the deed was done. The following comment was made, not by an anti-slavery journal, but by a daily newspaper, edited by the Clerk of the United States Senate, a man long well known as a Democrat, and, until recently, a hearty opponent of Abolitionists:

"The emancipation of slaves in the District of Columbia was one of the most suggestive events of the age. It was an example and an illustration. The great idea of the past century, the idea which had associated and identified itself with our institutions, was at last tried by a practical test. Good results came from it; none of the evils dreaded and prophesied have been manifested. It was a simple measure of legislative policy, and was established amid great opposition and feeling. Yet it was succeeded by no agitation, no outbreaks of popular prejudice. The District of Columbia is now a free Territory by the easy operation of a statute law—by what enemies of the measure called forcible emancipation—and yet the District of Columbia is as pleasant and prosperous as at any period of its history."

Thus transpired one of the great events of this age; itself a prophecy of greater. It was speedily followed by the congressional enactment which has forever prohibited the existence of slavery in the Territories of the United States. On the 9th of May, 1862, the House of Representatives, by a vote of eighty-five yeas to forty nays, passed a bill declaring, "That slavery, or involuntary servitude, in all cases whatsoever, other than in punishment of crime, whereof the party shall be duly convicted, shall henceforth cease, and be prohibited forever in all the Territories of the United States now existing, or hereafter to be formed or acquired in any way."

On the 9th of June following, the bill passed the Senate by a vote of twenty-eight yeas to ten nays; and by the signature of the President, at once became the law of the land.

If it were difficult to apprehend and fully realize the grandeur of the event, when the slaves of the District of Columbia were made freemen, and freedom was assured to their posterity forever; still more difficult was it to measure the depth of meaning contained in the few brief words engrossed on that parchment scroll which is the charter of freedom to our Territories. When that vast territory stretching from the Mississippi Valley to the Pacific, now lying silent and beautiful in its "unshorn growth of centuries," shall be peopled by the rushing tides of emigration from the East; when the loud murmur of looms and spindles shall mingle with the music of its streams and waterfalls; when its hills shall be crowned with school-houses and churches and legislative halls; and along its valleys shall course the iron road; and commerce and art and manufactures shall minister to its mighty population, then may the generations, who, one after another, grow up under the protecting power and fostering care of its free institutions ponder the meaning and the value of the words which conferred on them a free press, a free pulpit, free speech, free thought, and all the wealth, material, intellectual and spiritual, which these produce; and saved them from the perpetually renewed curse of slavery, which has smitten with blight and ruin so many States of this Republic. But who can faithfully portray the contrast? The human intellect shrinks back, appalled, from the task; and the heart takes up the cry, "Glory to God in the highest; on earth, peace and good will to man!"

These great deeds done for freedom are not the only evidences furnished by Congress of the growing love of liberty in the popular heart. The passage of the bill authorizing the President to enrol and receive into the army and navy of the United States volunteers of African descent, is a triumph over that mean and wicked prejudice against our colored fellow-citizens, so long cherished by the Church and by the State.

In retracing the course pursued by the President of the United States, during the year, we find indubitable evidence of some moral progress on the part of the people. It was with disappointment and pain that the friends of liberty listened to his official declaration, in May, 1862, that Gen. Hunter's proclamation of freedom to the slaves in his Military Department was null and void. It was with equal pain and disappointment that they listened for one word of public official protest against the barbarous policy of his agent, Gov. Stanley, in closing the schools for the emancipated slaves of North Carolina, and commanding the rendition of those freedmen to their former masters. But in less than two months afterwards, his earnest appeal to the Border slaveholding States to accept the proposal for compensated gradual emancipation suggested by him to Congress in the month of March previous, was joyously hailed by us, as a ray of hope for the slave. Months rolled on, which might be counted as years in the intensity of our national life, and the momentous history which they were making, when the nation was startled by the memorable proclamation of the 22d of September, which declared "That on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves in any State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward and forever free; and the Executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom."

The announcement, in the month of November, that the President had removed Gen. McClellan from the command of the Army of the Potomac, and had put Gen. Burnside in his place, indicated that the army was to be prepared to execute this policy of emancipation. The agonizing doubt, the painful alternations of hope and fear which were endured by the friends of freedom during those three probationary months, are forgotten, and shall be no more remembered in the joy and glory of the crowning act of Abraham Lincoln's administration, which, on the morning of the first of January, 1863, indissolubly associated his name with America's day of jubilee.

Not only in the Legislative and Executive departments of our government do we find tokens of the steady progress of the spirit of liberty. The history of the army and navy during the war, shows signs of promise equally bright. Officers in high stations in both, who, at the commencement of the rebellion, were eager to display their fidelity to slavery, are now to be found bearing the strongest testimony to its enormous injustice, and its danger to the nation. Gen. Hunter has taught us to forget some earlier deeds of his by those glorious words uttered on the 9th of May, 1862, declaring the slaves of Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina *thenceforward free.* Gen. Butler has obliterated the record made on his first entrance into Maryland, by his proclamation calling the free colored CITIZENS of Louisiana to arms, in defence of their homes, their wives, and their children, and of their country's flag; by his frank avowal of the radical change of his sentiments upon the subject of slavery, and his earnest exhortations to his countrymen to take care, lest in their oppression of the negro, they "be found fighting against God." The Secretary of the Navy has announced that the fugitive slave enlisted in the naval service is safe within the protection of the U. S. government. And volumes might be written of the thrilling narratives of slaves rescued by the brave hands and sympathetic hearts of our soldiers; sometimes at the peril of the displeasure of their superior officers; sometimes, indeed, in open defiance of their inhuman commands. The manner in which the proclamation of Emancipation has been received in the army, in different parts of the country, indicates an improved tone of feeling towards the colored man, and increasing clearness of perception respecting the real cause of the war.

Although the influence of the Border slave States has been justly regarded as a serious impediment to the progress of liberty, and to the efficiency of the government in the suppression of the rebellion, we find, within some of these, decided movements toward the emancipation of their own slaves; and we may reasonably hope that Missouri, Delaware, and Western Virginia will soon be numbered with the Free States of America.

The recently awakened opposition to the foreign slave trade, which we noticed in our last Report, as evinced by the first capital conviction under the laws of the United States against this trade, was soon after manifested by the unanimous consent of the Senate to a treaty negotiated by the Secretary of State, between the British government and our own, for the purpose of the suppression of the trade; and by the conviction and sentencing to imprisonment for five years of Albert Horn, charged with fitting out the steamer City of Norfolk, for that traffic.

Another step of progress, another indication of a returning sense of justice in the American people, fraught with immense consequences to the victims of long-continued hate and oppression, is the recent decision of the United States Attorney-General, that free men of color, born in the United States, are citizens of the United States. This is one act of atonement performed towards an outraged class of our countrymen, over which we heartily rejoice.

Thus, during the eventful year, has the Abolitionist, in grateful joy, garnered the first sheaves from his long and patient sowing, accounting each an earnest of the full in-gathering, and waited and listened for the command from heaven, "Thrust in thy sickle and reap, for the time has come for thee to reap; for the harvest is ripe." We caught the sound of that voice, mingled with the jubilee shouts which burst from the lips of enfranchised millions on the morning which ushered in the new year. On that day an angel passed over our land, and entering the hovel of the slave, transformed it into a HOME. He stooped over a hundred thousand cradles, and breathed the breath of a new life into the souls of their unconscious occupants, and bade a hundred thousand mothers clasp, for the first time, free children in their arms. He touched the mancles of three million slaves, and they lay broken at freedmen's feet. Around that day had clustered the hopes of all lovers of liberty in the land; for its coming their hearts had waited and longed, with hope and fear, with prayer and faith. The proclamation of the President announcing that the hour of Emancipation had come, awoke a response from the nation which confirmed the wisdom of the decision that this was the weapon which, alone, could strike a mortal blow against the rebellion. The friends of the Union, the loyal men and women of the land, in the North and in the South, replied, "Amen: so let it be!" From ecclesiastical conventions, and legislative assemblies, from Union Leagues, from editorial chairs, and from pulpits, came their hearty responses of approbation and joy. While Northern Abolitionists were holding meetings of thanksgiving for the dawn of the jubilee, the citizens of New Orleans, people who had been life-long slaveholders, crowded the largest building in their city, and without a dissenting voice and with vociferous cheers, uttered their sentiments in the following language:

"Resolved, That we are prepared to sustain the government of the Union in all measures adopted for the suppression of the rebellion; and that we fully approve the war measure set out in the proclamation of the President of Jan. 1st, 1863, as one called for by the exigencies of war, and consummating at once an act of justice to one class, and inflicting, at the same time, on another class persisting in rebellion, the blow best calculated to reduce them to obedience to the laws."

From the disloyal people of the North, the men whose sympathies are with the rebellion, and who are hoping for the defeat of our government in this struggle, came a wail of lamentation and a cry that the proclamation was illegal, unconstitutional, and its author a despot. And the armed leaders of the rebellion listened to it in fierce wrath, and poured out maledictions and threats of new vengeance. Unwittingly they testified that they were smitten between the joints of their harness.

In our great joy over this announcement of the emancipation of three million slaves, we did not forget that it did not "proclaim liberty throughout *all* the land, to *all* the inhabitants thereof"; nor were we unmindful of the fact that the full enforcement of the decree must depend, in great measure, on the future success of the United States armies. But we know that mighty moral revolutions are accomplished by slow steps, though, seen in the retrospect of centuries, they seem the work of an hour. No joy was too great, no thanksgiving too fervent, for the proclamation which legalized the freedom of so large a portion of the slaves of the United States. Of those excepted from freedom by this proclamation, we have the testimony of Gen. Butler, that of the 87,000 of them who are in Louisiana, nearly all were already freed by other edicts, and the testimony of an eye witness, that the slaves of Norfolk and Virginia, believing that the President had emancipated them, refused to work any longer for their former masters, without wages, and that, there being no power to compel them to do so, virtual emancipation has taken place even in those cities, where the President promised that "all things should remain as they were."

Time would fail us to record all the hopeful signs of the times, which have cheered us during the past year. We have heard testimonies to the danger and the injustice of slaveholding, from men in high places, who, in the days of the slaveholder's prosperity, cared little for his victim. We have witnessed the establishment of an anti-slavery newspaper in South Carolina, and the reception, in Washington, of a colored man as the accredited minister of the Haytien government. We have seen the heroism of patriotic colored men acknowledged and rewarded by our government. And we have echoed the shout of joy which arose from tropic isles, when the government of Holland issued its decree that, on the first day of July, 1863, slavery in its colonies shall be forever abolished.

TRADES-UNION DEPUTATION TO THE AMERICAN MINISTER.

From The London Morning Star, May 4.

ON Saturday, at eight p.m., a deputation of trades-unionists attended at the residence of Mr. Adams, the American Minister, in Portland place, for the purpose of placing in the hands of his Excellency the address to President Lincoln, adopted at the late Trades-Union Emancipation Society at St. James's Hall, over which Mr. John Bright, M.P., presided. The deputation consisted of the following members and officers of the trades-unions: Messrs. G. Potter, Richards, Garland, Fest, Petherbridge, Burgess, Mildred, Cromer, Graham, Donner, Payne, South, Magher, Eglinton, Llewellyn and Merrifield [carpenters' societies], Mr. Mooney [boot closer], Messrs. Osborne and Nieass [plasterers], Mr. Nelson [wire worker], Messrs. French and Dawson [bricklayers], Mr. Shave [plumber], Messrs. Dodstron, Odgers and Richardson [boot and shoemakers], Mr. Fast [zinc worker], Mr. Facey [painter], Messrs. Grey, Conolly and Gibbons [stone-masons], Mr. Martin [cigar-maker], and Mr. Butler [tin-plate worker].

The deputation was accompanied by Mr. Bright, M.P., and E. S. Beesly, Esq., Professor of Political Economy at University College.

MR. BRIGHT, M.P., having introduced the deputation to Mr. Adams, said: Your Excellency, the deputation I have the honor of introducing before you is one appointed at a meeting of trades-unionists, held in St. James's Hall on the 24th of April last, over which I had the honor and pleasure to preside, for the purpose of expressing their abhorrence of the American institution of slavery, their disapprobation of the rebellion of the Southern States of that country, their sympathy with the North in its efforts to put down that rebellion, and their admiration of the general policy—more particularly that relating to slavery—pursued by President Lincoln, to whom they had adopted an address of sympathy and congratulation, which they now desire to place in the hands of your Excellency for transmission to Mr. Lincoln. The trades-unions are not political bodies; they are bodies of operatives united together to promote and defend their social interests, and I believe this is the first occasion on which they have come out as a united body to publicly express an opinion on a political question; and it therefore proves how deep an interest they must have felt in it [hear]. I think it is a pity that these important bodies of society men do not more frequently interest themselves about great public questions, which I believe they might do with great advantage to the public and profit to themselves [hear].

Mr. Cremer [joiner, and Secretary to the meeting] then read the address, which assured President Lincoln that the sympathy of the great bulk of the working men of England laid with the North, and expressed the hope that his efforts to put down the rebellion of the Southern slaveholders would be crowned with success. Mr. Cremer having explained the cause of the delay in presenting the address, arising from unavoidable causes, said the working men of this country felt an especial interest in America, as it was the only country where working men held the free use of the franchise. These trade societies were based on broad democratic principles, every member having a voice in making the laws by which he was governed; they were, in fact, so many small republics, the members of which fully sympathized with the large republic across the Atlantic in its present struggle, and hoped it would come out of that struggle triumphant [hear].

Mr. Conolly [mason], in assuring his Excellency of the deep sympathy felt almost universally amongst working men towards the cause upheld by the North, hoped he would use all the influence he possessed to prevent a war between this country and America, which would be one of the greatest calamities of modern times, throwing back the progress of freedom and civilization for many years. This war feeling was fostered by a portion of the press and the mercantile classes in both countries for their own selfish purposes; but he trusted the good sense and mutual forbearance of the peoples and the government would prevent any such fratricidal war taking place. A war with America by this country would, so far as the working-classes were concerned, be the most unpopular war that ever existed [hear].

Mr. Potter [joiner, and manager of *The Beehive* trades newspaper] desired to assure his Excellency that it was principally amongst the upper and a certain portion of the trading classes that Southern sympathizers were to be found. The large mass of working men had no sympathy with the South, and they would only be too happy to see President Lincoln crush the rebellion and extinguish slavery. A portion of the press in each country were doing their best to mislead the people and embroil the two countries in a sanguinary war. This would be prevented by the people of America being made acquainted with the sentiments of the great mass of the English people, and he hoped his Excellency would take the necessary means for making those opinions known amongst his countrymen.

Mr. Odgers, shoemaker; Mr. Petherbridge, joiner; Mr. Facey, painter; Mr. Grey, mason; Mr. Murray, boot-closer, and Mr. Nieass, plasterer, severally addressed his Excellency in support of the policy of Mr. Lincoln.

Prof. Beesly thought if war did ensue it would be the result of misunderstanding. He had no doubt our government was fully alive to its responsibility on this point. It had been feared that the pressure put upon our government by the Southern sympathizers in high quarters would force them into war. Judging from the past conduct of the government with reference to American affairs he did not think they were likely to be so influenced. The sympathizers with the South might be noisy and demonstrative, but the government well knew that those who sympathized with the North were far more numerous and far more strong, as the public meetings testified.

Mr. Adams, having expressed the pleasure he felt at seeing so numerous a deputation of workmen before him, said: Gentlemen, I accept with pleasure the duty you have imposed upon me in receiving your address to the chief of my government. Representing as I do my country in England, you must be aware that I must stand outside all local questions; therefore it is not in my province to express dissatisfaction or satisfaction with those persons or parties in England who may express their opinions upon America. If there are some persons in this country who from prejudice or ignorance put a harsh construction on the conduct of the American government it is not my place to find fault or my right to criticize. It is, of course, my duty to accept from the representatives of any body of Englishmen their favorable sentiments towards the government I represent, and to reciprocate the frank, manly, and independent spirit in which they have been tendered. I understand, gentlemen, you attend here as representing large bodies of working men who advocate and uphold the rights of labor, and it is therefore but natural you should look with dislike upon any parties, in whatever country they may exist, who infringe on those rights. You perceive that in the struggle now going on in America an attempt is being made to establish a government on the destruction of the rights of labor—a government of physical power to take away the rights of labor. It is a question above all local right, it is a general principle, and therefore, though taking place in a foreign country, you have a right to express your opinion thereon [hear]. Gentlemen, I accept the duty you impose upon me with great pleasure, the more so as you have taken advantage of the occasion to speak on the question of war. I agree generally with your views on the subject. But with two nations of the same race, of the same high spirit, both feeling a natural pride in their superiority on the ocean, I think it almost impossible, under existing circumstances, to prevent some things springing up that might occasion a collision. I therefore concur with you, gentlemen, as to the necessity for great forbearance being exhibited by both countries and governments in construing the actions of each other. I trust that in spite of all that has occurred there is in the government of each country a sufficient sense of responsibility which will induce them to maintain friendly relations with each other. There must naturally be a feeling of pride—of fear, lest one nation should appear to refrain from properly resenting what it might deem to be an offence from the other; and in this feeling lies the great danger. I feel confident, however, that if the two peoples and the two governments would speak together in the same sense in the same frank and unreserved tones as you have spoken to me this evening, all fear of any collision would be at an end [hear]. I can assure you that notwithstanding the speeches of some of my countrymen, notwithstanding the writings in some of the American journals, there is no nation under the sun to which America entertains a greater regard than England, and if the real sentiments of the people of each country can be clearly established to each other, I shall have no fear of their coming into collision [hear, hear]. I believe, gentlemen, you have taken the right course to produce this desirable understanding, and I undertake with great pleasure the duty of transmitting your address to President Lincoln [cheers].

The deputation having thanked Mr. Adams for his courteous reception, and Mr. Bright for his kindness in attending, then retired.

THE LABOR QUESTION IN THE WEST.

From The Evening Post.

"FIVE thousand negroes wanted!" exclaims the St. Paul *Press*, one of the leading journals of Minnesota; and goes on to explain that the farmers of that rich young State are "suffering serious inconveniences from the great deficiency of labor."

"This deficiency has been felt in all departments of business, but no branch of industry has suffered more keenly from this cause than agriculture. Since the absorption of so many of the laboring class in the army, many of our farmers have found it necessary to reduce the quantity of land under tillage from the sheer want of hands to put in their usual crops, and even then much of it has gone to waste from the deficiency of help in harvest time. Some of our intelligent farmers have already begun to look to the contrabands for aid in this extremity, and if their native repugnance to a Northern climate can be overcome, which we think very doubtful indeed, an importation of five or ten thousand negroes might be made with very great advantage to the State."

Gen. Sibley has sent to St. Louis for between three and four hundred blacks, to serve as teamsters, cooks, etc., in the army which is to operate against the Indians; and as the Minnesotians have a very immediate interest in the success of that army, they will be glad to have its strength increased even by such accessions.

In the meantime Mr. Seward would do well to renew his efforts to inform the laboring classes of Europe, by our consuls and other officers abroad, that there is opportunity in America for many millions of strong arms; that wages of labor have risen and are rising still more; that even to save the whole grain crop of the present year, which promises to be very large, our farmers need much help; and that no honest, law-abiding and industrious man can fail now to earn bread for himself and his family in the West; while all such may hope, by a few years of steady industry to acquire for themselves homes and homesteads of their own in the land.

Already emigrants are crowding to our shores; but there is room for still more. If any man in Europe is starving and would like work, let him be sent hither. It is a pleasant reflection that, if the crime of the slaveholding cotton-planters has brought severe suffering on many millions of the working men of Europe, the free States which are defending the Union at the same time offer homes to those made homeless, work to those made idle, and bread to those who are starving through the wicked acts of the rebellious slaveholders.

The International Exhibition at Hamburg, to be opened in July, will bring together these men from all the German States, and it would be well if our State and government agents would set forth to these delegates and visitors the great advantages offered now to industrious poor men, by settlement in the Western States. It is an occasion which we ought not to lose, and we have no doubt some of the States are ready to profit by it. Ohio has already an emigration agent in Europe to publish the advantages of settlement in that State. Other Western States should follow in the same course.

AMERICAN SLAVERY.

ADDRESS OF FRENCH PROTESTANT PASTORS.

THE following address to ministers of the Gospel in Great Britain was sent from Paris through the Rev. Dr. Massie. The distinguished Protestant pastors whose names are at the foot attest that it has been signed by 689 Protestant ministers of France. Since the 13th of March further signatures have, we understand, been sent in, raising the total to the large number of 750:

To the ministers and pastors of all evangelical denominations in Great Britain.

PARIS, February 12th, 1863.

HONORED AND BELOVED BRETHREN IN THE LORD: It is the glory of England to have given to the world the example of abolishing first the slave trade, and then slavery. It is her glory to have continued for the last sixty years the work of suppressing universally the slave trade and slavery at the cost, it is asserted, of fifty million of pounds sterling. And it is, under God, chiefly to her religious men, to her Clarksons, her Wilberforces, her Buxtons, to her missionary societies, that England owes this glory. Will not the sons and successors of these great Christians complete their work, by urging their country to declare itself openly for the true cause of the liberation of the slave in the terrible struggle which is at present convulsing the United States of America?

No more revolting spectacle has ever been set before the civilized world, than a Confederacy consisting mainly of Protestants forming itself, and demanding independence in the nineteeth century of the Christian era, with a professed design of maintaining and propagating slavery; a Confederacy which lays down, as the corner-stone of its Constitution, the system of slavery as it exists at present in the Southern States—a system which may be defined briefly as the right to treat men like cattle, and to commit adultery and murder with impunity. Setting aside all political considerations, can any Christian heart fail to be stirred to indignation at hearing the chief of that Confederacy answering a decree of emancipation by an implied threat of extermination?

The triumph of such a cause would put back the progress of Christian civilization and of humanity a whole century. It would make angels weep in heaven, and demons rejoice in hell. It would enable the friends of the slave trade and of slavery in all lands to hold up their heads, ever ready as they are to reappear at the first signal, in Asia, in Africa, and even in the great cities of Europe. It would give a fatal blow to the work of evangelical missions. And what a frightful responsibility would rest on the Church which should remain the silent spectator of such a triumph!

If there is a peaceable means of hastening the end of the war, and of rendering its issue such as is desired by all the friends of humanity, is it not that the sincere Christians of Europe should give to the cause of emancipation a powerful testimony which would leave to those who fight for the right of oppressing the slaves no hope of ever seeing those Christians give them the hand of fellowship?

Ministers and pastors of all the Evangelical denominations of England, Scotland and Ireland, it is here we need your assistance. Take the lead, and let us call forth a great and peaceful manifestation of sympathy for the colored race so long oppressed and debased by Christian nations. Let us thus discourage the partisans of slavery. Let us strengthen and encourage those who wish to abolish it, at the same time disposing them to listen to our suggestions. It is in free England that such manifestations can be powerful. What may we not hope for if, throughout Great Britain, the voice of all the ministers of the crucified Savior—and in France, our voice echoing theirs—pray and plead that soon there may no longer be in the United States a colored man that is not free and equal with the whites!

May God grant it, and may his blessing rest alike on Great Britain and the United States, in Christ, the true Liberator!

The following reply was adopted by a conference of ministers, held in London, and presided over by the Hon. and Rev. Baptist Noel:

"DEAR BRETHREN: We, whose names are undersigned, share in your views, rejoice in your zeal, and are thankful for your exhortations. It is honorable to France, and to French Protestantism, that you so heartily wish the destruction of the slave system, which makes 4,000,000 negroes wretched; which debases their masters; which has been a vast calamity to a great Protestant nation, and which dishonors Christ, by whose professed servants it is upheld. Like yourselves, we feel a deep compassion for the slaves, who are a part of the human family; we wish by all means in our power to discourage those who are seeking to found an empire on their degradation; and we wish success to all just and humane measures for their deliverance. With these sentiments we beg to assure you that, following where you have so nobly taken the lead, we shall do what we can to accomplish those benevolent objects to which you invite our attention. Accept our fraternal wishes that you may enjoy the favor and blessing of God, through Jesus Christ our Lord."

We learn from the London *Star* that upward of 1,500 signatures to this reply have been received by the London and Manchester Emancipation Societies, and that large numbers continue to be received every day. The signatures include many clergymen of the Church of England and Scotland, and Non-conformist ministers of every denomination.

MILITARY PROTECTION FOR BLACK SOLDIERS.

To impel the slaves to desire the reëstablishment of the Union, it needs but to offer them freedom; but to insure their prompt, hearty, and general coöperation in the work, they must have military protection. In other words, we cannot expect the blacks to risk their lives in battle array for the Union, if we abandon them in case of defeat and capture to the savage vengeance of their incensed masters, allowing them to be sold as slaves or executed as insurgent traitors. This truth is too plain to need elucidation. We know, too, by the action of the rebel Congress and the proclamation of Davis responsive thereto, that the rebels *will* enslave or kill every black captured while in our service, unless they are deterred by the fear of stern retaliation. It has become, therefore, a vital necessity that our government should declare its purpose to require for all its soldiers the protection of the humaner laws of war, and to visit with stern retaliation every violation thereof to the injury or peril of any class or portion of its armed defenders.

The government has just published "Instructions for the government of Armies in the Field," prepared by Prof. Francis Lieber, LL. D., and revised by a Board of Officers whereof Gen. Ethan A. Hitchcock is President, and approved by the President of the United States. These instructions are full and elaborate, extending to 157 sections, and seem to cover every case which may arise as between the belligerents in the prosecution of wars generally, and of the present Civil War especially. They treat of Martial Law, Civil War, Insurrection, Rebellion, Exchanged Prisoners, Flags of Truce, Parole, the taking of Public and of Private Property, the Treatment of Spies, Scouts, Guerillas, Assassins, etc., and from beginning to end claim no immunities for the soldiers of our own or any established and universally recognized government over those of an armed and formidable rebellion. With regard to the treatment of black soldiers, their provisions are as follows:

"41. All municipal law of the ground on which the armies stand, or of the countries to which they belong, is silent and of no effect between armies in the field.

"42. Slavery, complicating and confounding the ideas of property [that is of a *thing*] and of personality [that is of *humanity*] exists according to municipal or local law only. The law of nature and nations has never acknowledged it. The digest of the Roman law enacts the early dictum of the Pagan jurist, that 'So far as the law of nature is concerned, all men are equal.' Fugitives escaping from a country in which they were slaves, villeins, or serfs, into another country, have for centuries past been held free and acknowledged free by the judicial decisions of European countries, even though the municipal law of the country in which the slave had taken refuge acknowledged slavery within its own dominions.

"43. Therefore, in a war between the United States and a belligerent which admits of slavery, if a person held in bondage by that belligerent be captured by or comes as a fugitive under the protection of the military forces of the United States, *such person is immediately entitled to the rights and privileges of a freeman.* To return such person into slavery would amount to enslaving a free person; and neither the United States, nor any officer under their authority, can enslave any human being. Moreover, a person so made free by the law of war is under the shield of the law of nations, and the former owner or State can have, by the law of post-limine, no belligerent lien or claim of service.

"57. So soon as a man is armed by a sovereign government, and takes the soldier's oath of fidelity, he is a belligerent; his killing, wounding, or other warlike acts, are no individual crimes of offenses. No belligerent has a right to declare that enemies of a certain class, color or condition, when properly organized as soldiers, will not be treated by him as public enemies.

"58. The law of nations knows of no distinction of color; and if an enemy of the United States should enslave and sell any captured persons of their army it would be a case for the severest retaliation, if not redressed upon complaint. The United States cannot retaliate by enslavement; therefore death must be the retaliation for this crime against the law of nations."

This is as it should be, and seems to cover the ground, provided it is to be not only distinctly proclaimed, but sternly enforced. I do not know that what are here correctly set forth as the established Laws of War governing the employment as soldiers by one belligerent of persons who have been held as slaves by the other has in any case been violated with impunity by the rebels; yet there have been black regiments serving the Union in Louisiana and South Carolina for months, of whom I have not heard that a single one, having been captured by the rebels, has ever been exchanged or returned by them. Perhaps this is because none have been captured, though that is barely possible. But it was proclaimed at the time that quite a number of blacks, who were with our forces at Harper's Ferry when that post was so shamefully surrendered to Stonewall Jackson last Fall, were seized by the rebels, and have not since been heard from on our side of the lines: while it is understood that a number of blacks, who, under the protection of a flag of truce, went down to Bull Run to carry relief to our wounded soldiers after the disastrous fight of last August, were most unjustifiably seized by the rebels and hurried off into bondage. Let us hope that there has been some mistake in the premises, and that the instinctive, all but universal loyalty of the blacks to the Union cause is to be requited by the clear annunciation and vigorous enforcement of a policy which will insure to so many of them as may be captured by the enemy while serving as the same treatment that is accorded to whites similarly employed, so that thousands after thousands may be induced to enlist in our black regiments, and thus replenish the thinned ranks of the defenders of our Union. Where Justice and Policy walk so manifestly hand in hand, it cannot be that blind Prejudice and stupid Pride will be suffered to ignore or overbear them.—*Horace Greeley, in The Independent.*

ROMAN CATHOLICS AND LIBERTY.

Fom The Evening Post

WHILE a few Roman Catholics in New York, like the Abbe McMasters and Mr. Mullaly, editor of *The Metropolitan Record*, adhere to the cause of the rebels, it is gratifying to know that the best and most respectable priests in that Church, as well as the great mass of the laity, are true to the Union and to the cause of human freedom. In this they are indeed only following the traditions of their Church, which has always opposed itself to human slavery.

In a recent letter Gen. Rosecrans commends the course of the editor of the Cincinnati *Telegraph*, the leading Roman Catholic journal of the West, which has, as our readers know, taken strong ground in favor of liberty and against slavery Such men as Gen. Rosecrans, the Rev. E. Purcell and Bishop Smyth of Iowa are an honor to their Church. Concerning the latter, who is one of the staunchest loyal men of the West, we recently printed a paragraph from a Dubuque paper. A resident of the place has since then called upon us and made us acquainted with some of the worthy Bishop's personal traits.

It appears that Dubuque is a nest of copperheads, and that the Roman Catholic Church, which there includes some of the most influential citizens, has in her bosom a number of violent sympathizers with treason. It is, perhaps, enough to say that Mr. Mahoney, who has lately pleased his enemy by writing

a book, is one of the lambs of the flock. Gen. G. B. Jones, formerly United States Minister to Bogota, is also of that fold. It was understood in Dubuque that a society was forming with the design of making active resistance to the draft. The Bishop heard of the movement, and knew that the society was not only disloyal but secret: as is well enough known, the Roman Catholic Church will tolerate no secret societies, and he therefore informed his congregation on a certain Sunday morning that he would excommunicate any and all who should join the organization referred to. This announcement was received with blank faces by the faithful, and with undissembled rage by the copperheads outside the pale of the Church. But the effect was to kill the movement dead, as far as the Roman Catholic population were concerned.

Ever since the firing of the first gun Bishop Smyth has kept the national flag flying on his house, next his church, and both edifices are thus included beneath its folds. He is fearless and uncompromising in his loyalty, neither obtrusive nor too belligerent, but never covering personal timidity with the convenient cloak of the duties of his profession. His influence for good is very great, for against his private character and nobleness of heart no word is ever spoken.

LETTER FROM MAJ.-GEN. ROSECRANS.

For some weeks past a controversy has been going on between *The Catholic Telegraph* of Cincinnati, edited by the Very Rev. E. Purcell, brother of the distinguished Archbishop of Cincinnati, and a pro-slavery Catholic journal of that city. The learned editor of *The Telegraph* insists and proves that the Catholic Church and slavery have never got along well together; that the Church abolished that peculiar institution wherever she came in contact with it, and that it is only in America that Catholics have ever been found advocating slavery. The controversy has called forth the following letter from Maj.-Gen. Rosecrans, which appears in a late number of *The Telegraph*. The editor says: "He (Rosecrans) has never been an Abolitionist, and has, like ourselves, stood up for the Democracy."

MURFREESBORO, April 27, 1863.

MY DEAR FATHER EDWARD: The rebels [illegible] the last letter I wrote you, but they will draw very [illegible] consolation from its contents. . . . I am happy to see the splendid stand you took in *The Telegraph* against slavery, with its horrors, barbarities, and base immoralities. Slavery is dead. Nothing can resuscitate it. To learn this fact fully, you should pay us a visit. There is not a negro in the South who does not know he is free. Around here they have squatted on the plantations, and refuse to work for any one but themselves. They have sown little crops of their own, and the masters have ceased to exercise any control over them.

As an indication, I will cite a strong case. The lady of the house where I am staying attempted to punish one of her negro women this morning. I had to step in to save the mistress from being badly used up, as the darkey was belaboring her with the stick intended for her own punishment. "*Ex uno disce omnes.*" It is needless for me to say that I applaud every sentiment you have expressed in *The Telegraph*. Your course is that of the prudent navigator, who, watching the black speck on the horizon, sees it expand into a portentous storm, and calls up his crew to take in sail and prepare for a contest with the elements. The storm will pass away and you will be found sailing under full sail, while those who took not heed will be scattered by the gale. . . . . . .

I am heart and hand with you in this cause. Slavery is doomed, and those who would now uphold it will be held up in a very short time to public odium and execration. No statesman will vindicate it, no friend of human progress will stretch forth a hand to break its fall, no lover of humanity and religion will grieve for its overthrow. I have lived long enough in the South to see its workings, its disgusting features, debasing the higher principles of our nature, warring with religion, and patronizing vice and immorality. Almighty God has certainly ordained its destruction in this country, where it has been more offensive and immoral than in any other, and until it is utterly extinct, this war cannot, from the nature of things, cease. I am in favor of a cessation of hostilities at as early a day as possible; therefore, I am in favor of the President's proclamation. This State was made for white people and free labor, and when slavery no longer blights its borders we may expect to see the church and the school-house take the place of the slave-pen and market."

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MAY 30, 1863.

CORRESPONDENTS will greatly oblige us by a careful observance of the following directions, viz.:

Letters enclosing matter for publication, or relating in any way to the editorial conduct of the paper, should be addressed, "EDITOR OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, NO. 48 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business of the office, should be addressed, "PUBLISHER OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, NO. 48 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

CONSERVATISM AND RADICALISM.

MANY is the word which, as Bardolph says of the word *accommodate*, "was a good word enough till it was ill-sorted." And by the bad company a word of respectable lineage and behavior gets into, it often becomes utterly perverted from its first innocence and entirely corrupted and debauched. It is so with both the words standing at the head of this article. Conservatism properly means the preservation of what is good and in danger of being destroyed, and Radicalism intends the thorough reform of what is mischievous and ought to be done away with altogether. By degrees they have changed places in the popular vocabulary of the day, until Conservatism stands for the conservation of whatever is worst in our institutions, and especially of slavery and the control of slaveholders over the country, while Radicalism is understood as striking a blow at the very root of slavery and of the Oligarchy resting upon it, the dark shade of which has always been on our affairs, public and private, up to two years ago. Properly speaking, therefore, those denounced as Radicals are the true Conservatives, who are striving to maintain whatever makes a government worth living under, and the laws which shall maintain the equal rights of all men, while they who hold themselves up as Conservatives are the men who are laying the axe at the root of the Social System and endeavoring to destroy it radically by making it rest on violations of the Divine laws. When this is fully understood, the names may be allowed to stand as they are. But, until they are received accurately into the general mind, the confusion of terms does mischief by causing confusion of ideas. When it is known that a Radical is one who believes in a Republic, in which the rights of all its members are equally respected and equal opportunities given to all for prosperity and advancement, and that a Conservative is a believer in an Aristocracy resting on the denial of the most important rights to a large majority of the people, for the advantage, wealth and dominion of a very few, when this is known the names by which they are called is entirely immaterial.

In its bad sense Radicalism is identical with what is called Conservatism in this country. Vicious Radicalism is understood to desire the levelling of all conditions of life and to foment class jealousies for the purpose of setting the poor against the rich. For this end they represent to the poor that there is a natural antagonism between them and the rich; that Labor and Capital are natural enemies, and that what hurts the one is good for the other. Now this is precisely what the Copperheads who call themselves Conservatives are all the time busy in attempting to do. They try to make the ignorant classes of society believe that this war, waged against treason for the life of the nation, is really carried on for the benefit of contractors and the advantage of the rich. They appeal to the lowest and worst passions of the populace by telling them that this war is one to raise the negro on the ruin of the white man, and that its natural and necessary course will be to overrun the free States with black labor, so as to reduce the rate of wages to the lowest point. And in States where these wretches have had a preponderance, chiefly through the absence of the Republicans in the army, laws have been made forbidding the entrance of negroes into their territory and even exiling those who had already acquired a domicile there. A policy—or rather an *im*policy—sure to bring its own punishment with it when the fields call aloud for labor to gather in their abundance. And happy will it be if the punishment works a cure. And to carry out their levelling plans, in the hopes of a reward of power or profit, under the Slave Oligarchy they hope to bring back again, they call to their aid everything that is vile in the shape of ruffianism and vice. And wealthy and educated men are found to place themselves at the head of such movements, organized for such purposes, through passion, prejudice or selfish schemes of personal or partizan aggrandizement.

And what is the condition of things which these self-styled Conservatives wish to restore and maintain? One in which Virginia had been reduced to lag far behind New York in the van of population and wealth, South Carolina behind Massachusetts and Delaware behind Rhode Island, with every advantage on their side at the start in 1790. A state of things which threw all commerce into the hands of the North, and all manufactures, with every advantage on their side of rivers and harbors. One which had brought the wolf back to the oldest settlements of the continent. One which made internal improvements all but impossible. And, which was worse, one that prevented intelligence and education even of the favored race, and made even the governing few a semi-civilized, ill-educated, suspicious, revengeful, treacherous and cruel class. And all this because their social system was built up on the capitalizing of labor and the consequent denial of the natural rights of the laborer. Hence the imperfect results of the labor of the country and the consequent insufficient accumulation of capital for the development of its resources. Hence, also, the degradation of the poor whites and the scarcely less dreadful degradation of the property-holders from the unbridled license given to all the worst passions of their nature. And of this class of persons, thus demoralized and unfit to govern themselves, our special Conservatives would make the dictators of the laws and policy of the nation—nay, have made them such for seventy years—for the hope of the crumbs to fall from their masters' table! Happily, the conservation of such a system was inherently impossible. Nothing could hinder its final ruin, though it might have been delayed had it not been for the greedy ambition of the slaveholding leaders. And we trust that its ruin will have been too complete to permit of its rehabilitation, or even to allow of the alternative hope of our Conservatives, that the slaveholders may be allowed to cover up their own ruin in that of the whole nation.

What, on the other hand, is the heart's desire and prayer of those intended to be stigmatized as Radicals? Simply, the restoration of the operation of the laws of God to the governing of man. To give every man a right to his own body and every right flowing from that primary right of all. To open the Southern country to the action of the laws of labor and capital and of supply and demand. To educate all classes, to give a career to every one who can achieve it, to make the acquisition of property and an improvement in condition possible to all, to open roads and whiten rivers with commerce, to make travel and residence safe for all comers, to secure the earnings of labor and the accumulations of capital, and thus to multiply the wealth, virtue, comfort and happiness of all classes a thousandfold. And, as the South is made the safe abode of labor and commerce, the North will share in every blessing thus created. The wealth of the nation would be indefinitely increased. The cost of the war that shall gain these good things would be but as the light dust of the balance compared with what would be gained by it. The only cause of sectional division would be done away with, and the Republic would be the most imperial polity on the face of the globe. The enmity its enemies strive to excite between labor and capital would disappear in the light of greater intelligence. Indeed, it has scarcely any practical existence where the laws of political economy are allowed fair play, because of the beneficent contradiction of actual results to crude speculation. Science and genius, stimulating capital and labor, will develop this continent to a degree beyond the wildest dreams of projectors. Social safety, domestic peace, respect abroad, a due influence in the affairs of the world, national wealth, greatness and glory are the normal and natural results of the true Republic which the Radicals would establish out of what is left of the old Slavedriving Oligarchy which held us back so long from all these things. Whether of the two will ye choose, Conservatism or Radicalism? A united or a divided country? One destiny or twain?

THE STANDARD FOR THE SOLDIERS.

A GENEROUS DONATION.

WE take great pleasure in laying before our readers the following letter:

NEW YORK, May 19th, 1863.

OLIVER JOHNSON, ESQ., *Editor of the Anti-Slavery Standard.*

DEAR SIR: In behalf of the Lecture Committee of the Sixteenth Ward Republican Association of the City of New York, I beg leave to tender you, as a donation, in aid of your valuable journal, the sum of $225 35, the same being the net proceeds of a lecture delivered by WENDELL PHILLIPS, Esq., in the Cooper Institute, on Monday evening, May 11th, 1863, under the auspices of the aforesaid Committee.

Accept this simple tribute of esteem for the fearlessness and honesty of purpose your journal has always displayed in the cause of justice and humanity.

Yours truly, etc., H. C. PARKE,
Chairman Lecture Committee, 197 Ninth Avenue.

We cannot help thinking that this donation does credit to the sagacity and good sense of the Lecture Committee of the Sixteenth Ward Republican Association. They have the sense to perceive that the success and even the life of the Republican party depends upon its fidelity to anti-slavery principles, and therefore they have set themselves to the task of enlightening the masses on the subject. Instead of shrinking, like too many of their associates, from being called Abolitionists, they are willing, if necessary, to incur all the odium attached to that name.

The American Anti-Slavery Society, having learned that the proceeds of Mr. Phillips's lecture would be thus placed at its disposal, passed a special vote, at the late annual meeting, to appropriate the money to the circulation of THE STANDARD among the soldiers. In order to carry this object into effect, we propose to open at this office

A SOLDIERS' LIST,

placing thereon the names of such officers and privates in the army as our friends in different parts of the country may furnish, and sending the paper to their address for a longer or shorter period, in the proportion that the number of the names may bear to the sum thus placed at our disposal.

We desire to send the paper only to such persons as will be likely to read it themselves, and circulate it among their fellow-soldiers. To send it indiscriminately, without such a guaranty, would be to waste a large portion of the fund.

Probably every one of our subscribers knows some officer or soldier to whom THE STANDARD would be welcome. We invite them to send us the name and the address of such, with the understanding that in so doing they obligate themselves to write to the persons whose names they thus send, explaining to them how the paper happens to be sent, and asking them to read and circulate it.

Be particular in giving the exact name and address of the soldiers, that there may be no unnecessary waste.

We shall begin with printing for this purpose one hundred extra copies, and shall enlarge the number as occasion may arise.

WESTERN MASSACHUSETTS.—Aaron M. Powell, writing from Ghent, May 25, says:

"I have just returned from Pittsfield, Mass., where I had a very good hearing yesterday, from about equal proportions of white and colored citizens. Rev. Samuel Harrison (colored), pastor of the Second Congregational church in Pittsfield, is a candidate for the Chaplaincy of the 55th Massachusetts (colored) regiment. He is an intelligent, good man. Though Pittsfield is in the old Bay State, it is so near Eastern New York as not to be very thoroughly educated in anti-slavery. On Saturday evening I was a guest at the American Hotel, and while at tea Vallandigham's arrest was the subject of conversation between two respectable, intelligent-looking gentlemen near me. One thought the arrest too bad, but if Wendell Phillips had been included and likewise sent South, he should be reconciled. The other concluded on the whole that Mr. Phillips was needed in the North to keep up the tone of public morality. They passed next to the theme of George Garrison's enlistment, and commission as Lieutenant, in the Massachusetts 55th. The one most Copperhead-ish thought this son of Lloyd Garrison's was the first one of the 'crazy ones' among the Abolitionists who had enlisted; supposed he *couldn't* get any commission in a white regiment, that he *wouldn't* go as a private, and so had concluded to go with the 'niggers'! So, you see, even Massachusetts, or at any rate the western portion of it, is not wholly civilized and enlightened."

THE DECADE MEETING.

THE completion of the thirtieth year and third Decade of the American Anti-Slavery Society's existence is to be celebrated by a meeting of two days, held on the 3d and 4th of December next, in the city of Philadelphia. We are desired to call attention to this fact, and as the easiest and best way in which we can do so, we print the resolution adopted on the subject, with the remarks made on the occasion by the gentleman who offered it:

Mr. MCKIM reported the following resolution:

Resolved, That in accordance with usage and from reasons of obvious fitness, it is proper that the completion of another decade of the Society's existence should be marked by a special public meeting devoted to a general review and survey of the cause, and therefore that this Society, when it adjourns on this occasion, will adjourn to meet in the city of Philadelphia on the 3d day of December next, then and there to celebrate in an appropriate manner the thirtieth—and we would fain hope the final—anniversary of its formation.

Mr. McKim said he offered this resolution at the instance of the Executive Committee of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society. It was, in effect, an invitation from the friends of the cause in Philadelphia to hold their third Decade meeting in that city. Usage and fitness alike suggested the propriety of this measure. The American Society had been founded in the city of Philadelphia. The completion of its first and second Decades had been celebrated by meetings held there. The first decade meeting, it would be remembered, was a stormy one. It was held amid demonstrations of mob violence. And the second was not materially different in this respect; but the next—that contemplated in this resolution, to be held on the 3d and 4th of December next—would be held under different auspices, and he was sure would be regarded by the people of Philadelphia with different feelings. Public sentiment had in that city, as elsewhere, undergone a radical change, and he was confident that a Convention of the kind proposed would be well received.

The last clause of the resolution expresses a hope which Mr. McKim thought was quite generally entertained, and which, in his own mind, was quite sanguine. A *hope*—not a clear conviction. I cannot say that I believe our work will be so near completion by the end of December that we shall be at liberty at that time to disband; but I think we shall be within sight of our goal; that by that time we shall have daylight enough to enable us as a Society to say something definitive and conclusive on the subject. While I would not be in haste with an official utterance upon this point, I would not needlessly delay such an utterance. While I would not have the Society disband a day before its time, I should be equally unwilling to have it live a day after its existence had ceased to be a necessity. I trust that when our organization shall have completed its work, it will dissolve, of purpose and with dignity. Don't let it outlive its usefulness, lingering out a miserable existence and dying of the dry rot. Don't let it imitate other so-called benevolent societies, whose existence seems to be perpetuated for no visible purpose but that of paying the salaries of their Secretaries or other officials.

Mr. President, this Society—thirty years ago—in the city of Philadelphia, came into existence with an earnestness of purpose and dignity of manner becoming the magnitude of the cause to which it was consecrated. It proclaimed to the world its sentiments, and laid down its programme of measures. Now, at the end of thirty years, it would be becoming in the Society to cite the world to witness that we have kept our faith—that we have adhered to our purpose—that we have turned neither to the right nor to the left; that with a singleness of eye, rarely equalled and never exceeded by any voluntary organization, we have devoted ourselves to the work we undertook to do, and that that work we have accomplished. We have "*awakened a public sentiment throughout the nation opposed to the continuance of slavery in any part of the republic.*" This radical revolution of public sentiment, making the further continuance of slavery impossible, was the object and end of our existence. It is so written in our records. I "hope," as the resolution says, that we shall be able to declare in December that this work has been accomplished, and that thence afterwards the members of the Society can take their place with their fellow-citizens in the other duties and burdens of the republic. I do not assume to say when the Society ought to dissolve, but I do say that the dissolution of the American Anti-Slavery Society, like its birth, should be marked by a dignity of purpose and decency of manner becoming the great cause to which it was consecrated.

LETTER FROM ALFRED H. LOVE.

PHILADELPHIA, Fifth mo. 19, 1863.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WHILE attending a few of the meetings of the American Anti-Slavery Society in New York, last week, I was deeply impressed with two facts: One the anxiety of the Abolitionists to terminate their labors, and the hope that that might be vouchsafed by the Thirtieth Anniversary occurring in December next. The other the conviction that, as slavery is in open rebellion to the government, it no longer has a legal existence, and that President Lincoln is recreant to his duty in not proclaiming immediate emancipation throughout the whole country.

I wish to say on the first point, that it is a most remarkable and beautiful example of meekness and unselfishness, to be willing and anxious to dissolve the organization the very moment it can be released from its duties. With less than a million of dollars contributed during thirty years, and with a membership at no time large, it has accomplished wonderful results. In the midst of so much creed-making and organization-loving, merely for the sake of the form without the substance, it is indeed refreshing to find one society that cares nothing for the continuance of the form after its divine objects are attained. To witness the harmony, the love, the earnestness which pervade the meetings, and see the talent and popularity of its members, one might suppose that the glory of having accomplished so much, the cordial friendships that are engendered, and the opportunities afforded for publicity, would prevent the dissolution of the Society. But it is not so and it proves the high moral grandeur of the anti-slavery movement of the nineteenth century.

Touching the probability of the consummation of this desire, it would seem impossible to give it date or limit. The abolition of slavery is not completed by a suppression of the slaveholders' rebellion, by an enforced loyalty, or by the war power; there must be a conversion as well as a coercion to the principles of anti-slavery, otherwise the old troubles will return, and at each election there will be the same old strife for the supremacy of the Slave Power. It will be for the American Anti-Slavery Society to go on with its teachings, until a general conversion takes place. Its speakers must be heard and its publications circulated throughout all the South. This will be a life-time labor, and however it may be desired by the fathers of the cause to rest from their labors and quietly dissolve the Association, taking no credit to themselves for their great work, but allowing others to reap the rewards, and receive the praise, and however grand and really Christ-like this would be, it cannot be indulged while the work yet to be done is of such magnitude.

To the second point I wish to say, that while we are unanimous that slavery is in open rebellion to the government, as it always has been in rebellion to liberty, Abolitionists must not forget that they keep the armies in the field. In other words, by their firm, bold and uncompromising stand at this hour for the consummation of the object for which they started, to wit, the abolition of slavery in this country, they stiffen and strengthen the arm of the government more than a million of soldiers. They become the corps de reserve; for governments, like men, work better if they have something to fall back upon.

Let Abolitionists, therefore, resist the demon of slavery with the same moral powers they have employed for more than a quarter of a century, and the triumphs will be miracles.

The border States are in a state of transition from slavery to anti-slavery, from disloyalty to loyalty. It is but a coerced change, solving the problem of the Abolitionists. The unfaltering persistency of the anti-slavery cause will keep these States so agitated, and will so embolden the army, that freedom must prevail eventually.

There never was a time in the history of the cause when more determination, united effort and consistency were demanded than at the present. Let us be equal to the emergency.

Very cordially your friend.
ALFRED H. LOVE.

NO RETREAT FROM THE PROCLAMATION.

THE friends of freedom in various parts of the country have feared that Mr. Greeley's foolish talk about the proclamation as binding the government only to maintain the freedom of that portion of the slave population which actually gives aid to the Union cause, was the foreshadowing of a purpose on the part of the Administration to make peace with the rebels, if possible, on such terms. Some weeks since, we put on record the distinct declaration of Secretary Chase, that the proclamation is "not to be disregarded or set aside in any event as a nullity, but maintained and executed with perfect good faith to all the enfranchised." We now record the opinion, to the same effect, of another member of the Cabinet, Postmaster-General Blair, as delivered by him in a speech at Cleveland, Ohio, on the 20th inst.

"The President, to whom the defence of government and the command of its armies belong, has labored to avert the dangers with which we are encompassed by various measures, in aid of the armed forces he has sent to the field. He would save the Union with or without slavery—would save it in any way, at whatever cost. The Union in peace under the Constitution was again and again his overture. If there could be no assurance of this with rebels bent on subverting the Republic to establish an oligarchy of slaveholders, then to the loyal friends of free government in the South he tendered emancipation, with compensation and a deliverance by colonization from a war of races which could only end in the extermination of the negro race or amalgamation with it. This failing, *after nearly two years of expostulation and forbearance to exert to the utmost the military power conferred on him under the Constitution*, the President felt himself constrained to issue that proclamation of freedom to the slaves who were in every sense the enemy's sinews of war. Some of them were found fighting in their ranks—multitudes in erecting and defending their fortifications—the greater mass in the fields at home, enabling their conscription to drag every able-bodied white man into the field of battle against the government, who, when there, are literally fed and paid by the products of that slave labor, to secure and extend which was the pronounced object of the war.

"This proclamation of the President was a reluctant advance, because, however necessary, it proceeded solely from himself, as being alone invested by the Constitution with the direction of the military power of the nation, and because in deciding on the necessity of its application in the way which the exigency before him seemed to demand, *he placed the government in a position* FROM WHICH THERE WAS NO RETREAT. The proclamation to the slaves to weaken the enemy *commits the nation irrevocably to make good the pledge by the* UTMOST EXHIBITION OF POWER. It not only creates an obligation to the bondsmen whose action it is meant to control, but it is an implied *pledge of honor* to the foreign powers whose conduct it is designed to influence. That measure which, as Commander-in-Chief, the President rightfully adopted under the Constitution and in accordance with *national* law to obtain the coöperation of a whole race of people, and which involves both life and freedom in its results, WHEN PROCLAIMED, WAS BEYOND REVOCATION BY EITHER THE CIVIL OR MILITARY AUTHORITY OF THE NATION. THE PEOPLE ONCE SLAVES IN THE REBEL STATES CAN NEVER AGAIN BE RECOGNIZED AS SUCH BY THE UNITED STATES. NO JUDICIAL DECISION, NO LEGISLATIVE ACTION, STATE OR NATIONAL, CAN BE ADMITTED TO RE-ENSLAVE A PEOPLE WHO ARE ASSOCIATED WITH OUR OWN DESTINIES IN THIS WAR OF DEFENCE TO SAVE THE GOVERNMENT, AND WHOSE MANUMISSION WAS DEEMED ESSENTIAL TO THE RESTORATION AND PRESERVATION OF THE UNION AND ITS PERMANENT PEACE."

This language, certainly, admits of but one meaning. Mr. Blair, like Mr. Chase, holds that the nation is bound to the utmost letter of the proclamation; and these members of the Cabinet are far more likely than Mr. Greeley to foreshadow the policy of the President.

COLORED SOLDIERS IN INDIANA.

RICHMOND, Wayne Co., Ind., May 20, 1863.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

SEEING frequent notice in THE STANDARD of arming colored men in different localities, I thought perhaps a few items from Hoosierdom on that subject might be interesting to your readers. A few days ago we had a lecture here from that eloquent champion of freedom, John M. Langston, of Oberlin, Ohio. His energetic and indefatigable co-worker, Mr. Rankin, had been several days in this vicinity, stirring up an interest among the colored people with regard to enlisting. There was a large audience of both white and colored people at the meeting. Mr. Langston made a very able and eloquent speech, setting forth the duty of the colored man to the government, in a very clear and forcible manner. He appealed to them, in the spirit of noble patriotism, not to sit idly enjoying the liberty that others are working out for them, but as becomes men who value their freedom, to grasp the sword and prove their fitness for its enjoyment by helping win it. He showed very clearly that the present time was the colored man's golden opportunity. Now is the time for him who would be free to strike the blow. He proved, by unmistakable evidence, that the government needs the strong arm of the negro to help save it, and urged him to rally to the standard of his country and earn his freedom by fighting for it. Mr. Langston is a graduate of Oberlin and an orator of exalted talent, which he is consecrating to his country, with the devotion that shows his soul is imbued with the sacredness of the cause.

Quite a number of colored men responded to the call for volunteers, in the different settlements, in this County and others, and the prospect is that recruits of this class will be forthcoming as fast as they are wanted for service.

The sincere friends of freedom can hope for the country, now that the government has acknowledged the right of the colored man to liberty, and called him, not as a chattel, but as a *man*, to come and take his place in the ranks of the army. This is as it should be. As a slave he could not fight, but he will nobly unclasp his folded arms, and grasp the musket for the death struggle, knowing full well that to him it is a question of life and death; and when the day of deliverance dawns upon this nation—and come it must—to the black man who has valiantly borne the cross aloft shall be awarded the meed of honor due to his courage and devotion. The rights that he has shed his life-blood to secure for himself and his race shall be awarded. And God's ear will not listen to overtures of peace, His power will not stay the hand of war, until this guilty nation gives evidence of sincere repentance by extending complete justice to the bondmen and bondwomen of the land. M. F. THOMAS.

VALUABLE MAPS.—Our friend, W. H. Forbes, lithographer, of Boston, has sent us two excellent maps: one of Richmond and its Fortifications, including the country around for a distance of ten miles from the city; and the other of the Battle Ground of Hooker's Army, showing all the approaches from Richmond, and the scene of Stoneman's foray.

VALLANDIGHAM.—The traitorous Vallandigham arrived at Murfreesboro, Tenn., under a strong escort, on Sunday last. He was quietly taken in a carriage to the quarters of Major Wiles, Provost-Marshal-General, where he was received by Gen. Rosecrans and a number of other officers. He appeared to be fully composed, and abstained from the expression of any disagreeable sentiments. At 2 p.m., his southward journey commenced. Major Miles, with a mounted escort, started down to take him below our lines in Shelbyville. The prisoner was very cheerful, and discussed his situation indifferently, but on approaching the nearest rebel picket, commanded by Col. Webb of the 8th Alabama, some eight miles out, he became perceptibly affected. Upon taking leave of his companions, he said in substance: "I am a citizen of the United States, and loyal to them. I want you to understand that you leave here a prisoner to the Confederate authorities." To Col. Webb he made similar remarks. The former received him with a remark that he had read his speeches, but did not like him; that he could not receive him within the Confederate lines, but he would permit him to remain at his post until he had ascertained the pleasure of the authorities. The flag of truce party then left Vallandigham and returned. Vallandigham's speech was a very ingenious strategem by which he expected to prevent his reception by the Confederate authorities and secure himself the credit of martyrdom as a persecuted loyalist. It is probable that the enemy will refuse to receive him. He was given to understand by Gen. Rosecrans that should he arrange to return to our lines in the same way, the President's orders to carry his original sentence into effect would be executed.

FROM SLAVERY TO FREEDOM.—On Monday last, Mrs. Harriet Jacobs (known to our readers under the pseudonyme of "Linda") led into our office a procession of dark-skinned, bright-eyed, happy-faced little girls, of different ages, from four to twelve years, whom she had piloted hither from the Contraband quarters in Alexandria, Va., all but one on their way to the "Shelter for Colored Orphans," in Providence, R. I., the managers of which have agreed to receive and train them. They were a beautiful group, and we almost envied Mrs. Jacobs the happiness she felt in leading them out of the land of slavery into a land of freedom. Looking into their faces, in which shone the light of new hopes and aspirations, slavery seemed to us more hateful than ever.

THE WOMAN'S NATIONAL LOYAL LEAGUE.

Address to the President.

To His Excellency, ABRAHAM LINCOLN, *President of the United States:*

HAVING heard many complaints of the want of enthusiasm among Northern women in the war, we deemed it fitting to call a National Convention. From every free State, we have received the most hearty responses of LOYALTY TO FREEDOM, and of interest in each onward step of the government as it approaches the idea of a true republic.

From the letters received, and the numbers assembled here to-day, we can with confidence address you in the name of the loyal women of the North.

We come not to criticize or complain. Not for ourselves or our friends do we ask redress of specific grievances, or posts of honor or emolument. We speak from no considerations of mere material gain; but, inspired by a true patriotism, in this dark hour of our nation's destiny, we come to pledge the loyal women of the republic to freedom and our country. We come to strengthen you with earnest words of sympathy and encouragement. We come to thank you for your proclamation, in which the nineteenth century seems to echo back the declaration of Seventy-six. Our fathers had a vision of the sublime idea of liberty, equality and fraternity, but they failed to climb the heights that with anointed eyes they saw. To us, their children, belongs the work to build up the living reality of what they conceived and uttered.

It is not our mission to criticize the past. Nations, like individuals, must blunder and repent. It is not wise to waste one energy in vain regret, but from each failure, rise up with renewed conscience and courage for nobler action. The follies and faults of yesterday we cast aside as the old garments we have outgrown. Born anew to freedom, slave creeds, and codes, and constitutions must now all pass away. "For men do not put new wine into old bottles, else the bottles break and the wine runneth out, and the bottles perish; but they put new wine into new bottles and both are preserved."

Our *special* thanks are due to you, that by your proclamation two million of women are freed from the foulest bondage humanity ever suffered. Slavery for man is bad enough, but the refinements of cruelty must ever fall on the mothers of the oppressed race, defrauded of all the rights of the family relation, and violated in the most holy instincts of their nature. A mother's life is bound up in that of her child. There centre all her hopes and ambition. But the slave mother, in her degradation, rejoices not in the future promise of her daughter, for she knows by experience what her sad fate must be. No pen can describe the unutterable agony of that mother whose past, present and future are all wrapped in darkness; who knows the crown of thorns she wears must press her daughter's brow; who knows that the wine-press she now treads, unwatched, those tender feet must tread alone. For, by the law of slavery "the child follows the condition of the mother."

By your act, the family, that great conservator of national virtue and strength, has been restored to millions of humble homes, around whose altars coming generations shall magnify and bless the name of Abraham Lincoln. By a mere stroke of the pen you have emancipated millions from a condition of wholesale concubinage. We now ask you to finish the work by declaring that nowhere under our national flag shall the motherhood of any race plead in vain for justice and protection.

So long as one slave breathes in this republic, we drag the chain with him. God has so linked the race, man to man, that all must rise or fall together. Our history exemplifies this law. It was not enough that we at the North abolished slavery for ourselves, declared freedom of speech and the press, built up churches, colleges and free schools, studied the science of morals, government, and economy, dignified labor, amassed wealth, whitened the sea with our commerce, and commanded the respect and admiration of the nations of the earth, so long as the South, by the natural proclivities of slavery was sapping the very foundations of our national life. When one half the nation turned its back on the light of civilization and groped through centuries of experiences to dig among heathen antiquities for its social customs and statute laws, the millstone was hung on Northern necks, and now, unless we lift the united nation up, they drag us down to feudal barbarism.

You are the first President ever borne on the shoulders of freedom into the position you now fill. Your predecessors owed their elevation to the slave oligarchy, and in serving slavery, they did but obey their masters. In your election, Northern freemen threw off the yoke. And with you rests the responsibility that our necks shall never bow again. At no time in the annals of the nation has there been a more auspicious moment to retrieve the one false step of the fathers in their concessions to slavery. The Constitution has been repudiated, and the compact broken by the Southern traitors now in arms. The firing of the first gun on Sumter released the North from all constitutional obligations to slavery. It left the government, for the first time in our history, free to carry out the declaration of our Revolutionary fathers, and made us in fact what we have ever claimed to be, a nation of freemen.

"The Union as it was"—a compromise between barbarism and civilization—can never be restored, for the opposing principles of freedom and slavery cannot exist together. Liberty is life, and every form of government yet tried proves that slavery is death. In obedience to this law, our republic, divided and distracted by the collisions of caste and class, is tottering to its base, and can only be reconstructed on the sure foundations of impartial freedom to all men. The war in which we are involved is not the result of party or accident, but a forward step in the progress of the race never to be retraced. Revolution is no time for temporizing or diplomacy. In a radical upheaving, the people demand eternal principles to stand upon.

Northern power and loyalty can never be measured until the purpose of the war be liberty to man; for a lasting enthusiasm is ever based on a grand idea, and unity of action demands a definite end.

At this time our greatest need is not in men or money, valiant Generals or brilliant victories, but in a consistent policy, based on the principle that "all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." And the nation waits for you to say that there is no power under our declaration of rights, nor under any laws, human or divine, by which free men can be made slaves; and therefore that your pledge to the slaves is irrevocable, and shall be redeemed.

If it be true, as it is said, that Northern women lack enthusiasm in this war, the fault rests with those who have confused and confounded its policy. The page of history glows with incidents of the self-sacrifice of woman in the honor of her country's danger. Fear not that the daughters of this republic will count any sacrifice too great to insure the triumph of freedom.

Let the men who wield the nation's power be wise, brave, and magnanimous, and its women will be prompt to meet the duties of the hour with devotion and heroism.

When Fremont on the Western breeze proclaimed a day of jubilee to the bondmen in our gates, the women of the nation echoed back a loud amen.

When Hunter freed a million men, and gave them arms to fight our battles, justice and mercy crowned that act, and tyrants stood appalled.

When Butler, in the chief city of the Southern despotism, hung a traitor, we felt a glow of pride; for that one act proved that we had a government, and one man brave enough to administer its laws. And when Burnside would banish Vallandigham to the Dry Tortugas, let the sentence be approved, and the nation will ring with plaudits. Your proclamation gives you immortality. Be just, and share your glory with men like these, who wait to execute your will.

In behalf of the Woman's National Loyal League,
ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, President.
SUSAN B. ANTHONY, Secretary.

Address to the Soldiers of our Second Revolution.*

BRETHREN: A thousand of your sisters, in a Convention representing the Loyal Women of the Nation, greet you with profound gratitude. Your struggles, sufferings, daring, heroic self-devotion, and sublime achievements, we exult in them all.

To you, especially, whose terms of service have expired, or are soon to expire, we desire to speak of the shifting scenes now acting in the Nation's Tragedy. This war of slavery against freedom did not begin with the first shot at Sumter; it did not begin when the slavocracy broke up the Charleston Convention, in order to secure the election of Mr. Lincoln, and thus palm upon the Southern masses a false pretense for rebellion. It did not begin with Nullification in 1832 nor in the Convention that framed the Federal Constitution; nor yet in that which adopted the Articles of Confederation; but it began in 1620, when the Mayflower landed our fathers on Plymouth Rock, and the first slave ship landed its human cargo in Virginia. Then, for the first time, liberty and slavery stood face to face on this continent. From then till now, these antagonisms have struggled in incessant conflict. Two years since the slavocracy, true to their instincts of violence, after long and secret plotting, crowned their perfidy by perjury, by piratical seizures of government property that cost $100,000,000, and then burst into open rebellion.

This war is not, as the South falsely pretends, a war of races, nor of sections, nor of political parties, but a war of PRINCIPLES; a war upon the working classes, whether white or black; a war against *Man*, the world over. In this war, the black man was the first victim, the working man of whatever color the next, and now *all* who contend for the rights of labor, for free speech, free schools, free suffrage, and a free government, securing to *all* life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, are driven to do battle in defense of these or to fall with them, victims of the same violence that for two centuries has held the black man a prisoner of war. While the South has waged this war against human rights, the North has stood by holding the garments of those who were stoning liberty to death. It was in vain that a few at the North denounced the system and called the people to repentance. In vain did they point to the progress of the Slave Power, and warn the people that their own liberties were being cloven down. The North still went on, throwing sop after sop to the Cerberus of slavery that hounded her through the wilderness of concession and compromise until the crash of Sumter taught her that with the slavocracy *no* rights are sacred. The government, attacked by assassins, was forced to fight for its own life. The progress of the war has proved that slavery is the life-blood of the rebellion. Hence the necessity of the President's proclamation of Freedom to the slaves.

The nation is in a death struggle—it must either become one vast slavocracy of petty tyrants, or wholly the land of the free. The traitors boast that they have swept from the national firmament one-third of its stars, but they have only darkened them with clouds which the sun of liberty will scatter, revealing behind them the eternal pillars of Justice, emblazoned with liberty, equality, fraternity.

Soldiers of this revolution, to your hands is committed the sacred duty of carrying out in these latter days the ideal of our fathers, which was to secure to ALL "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," and to every State "a republican form of government." To break the power of this rebellion calls for every available force. You know how extensively black men are now being armed. Some regiments are already in the field, twenty more are now under drill. Will you not, in this hour of national peril, gratefully welcome the aid which they so eagerly proffer, to overthrow that Slave Power which has so long ruled the North, and now that you spurn its sway, is bent on crushing YOU? Will you not abjure that vulgar hate which has conspired with slavery against liberty in our land, and thus roll from the sepulchre, where they have buried it alive, the stone which has so long imprisoned their victim? The army of the North will thus become the angel of deliverance, rescuing the nation from the shifting sands of compromise, and refounding it upon the rock of justice.

Some of you have been mustered out of service, many more are soon to return to your homes. All hail to you! Honor and gratitude for what you have done and suffered. Enough *if* you have only been fighting for the Union as it *was*. But is it enough, if the work for which the war is *now* prosecuted is not accomplished? Your country needs your power of soldierly endurance and accomplishment—your hard-earned experience, your varied tact, and trained skill, your practiced eye and hand, in a word, all that makes you veterans—ripe in discipline and educated power. Raw recruits *cannot* fill your places. Brave men, your mission though far advanced, is *not* accomplished. You will not, cannot, abide at home, while your brethren in arms carry victory and liberty down to the Gulf.

With joy and admiration we greet you on your homeward way; while your loved ones await your coming with mingled delight and pride. When, after a brief sojourn, you go back again, conveyed by the grateful acclaim and God-speed of millions, to consummate at Freedom's call her holy work, the mightiest of all time, and now so near its end, with exultant shouts, your brothers in the field will hail your coming to share with them the glory of the final victory. It will be the victory of free government, sacred rights, justice, liberty and law, over the perfidies, perjuries, lying pretenses, and frantic revelries in innocent blood, of the foulest national crime that ever reeked to heaven—the overthrow of the most atrocious yet the meanest despotism that ever tortured the groaning earth.

In behalf of the Woman's National Loyal League,
E. CADY STANTON, President.
SUSAN B. ANTHONY, Secretary.

* This Address was prepared by Mrs. Angelina Grimké Weld.

OBITUARY.

DIED, on the 21st of Fourth month, REBECCA PEIRCE, at her residence in Ercildoun, Chester County, Pa., in the 68th year of her age. She was a minister much beloved, and those who were in the habit of attending our Yearly Meetings, as well as many others, will long remember the sweetness of her presence and spirit. Gentle, loving and faithful, she was lovely in her own family, and in all the relations of life, and keenly alive to all that relates to human happiness and progress. She was an earnest advocate of the cause of temperance, and of the claims of the suffering and oppressed, and walked serenely onward amid many trials, until, as we doubt not, she entered the habitation whose walls are salvation and its gates praise. One by one the pure and good, whose words and example have incited us to faithfulness and cheered us on our way, "rest from their labors," but "their works follow them"; and the beauty and fragrance of their true lives are a priceless gift to survivors. Of such it may truly be said, "Earth is more sweet to live upon, more full of love because of them."—*Friends' Intelligencer.*

Personal acquaintance with the deceased enables us to bear witness to the justice of the above tribute to her worth. She was indeed a woman of rare excellence in every relation of life, and a devoted friend of the slave. *Editor.*

THE TRUTH IN A NUTSHELL.—Senator Sumner in a letter to the Union meeting lately held at Cleveland, Ohio, put the essential truth in a few words, thus:

"If it was my privilege to speak on that occasion I would urge on my fellow-citizens everywhere the duty of *Union for the sake of Freedom* and also *Freedom for the sake of Unity*. The two cannot be separated. They are unitedly dependent. Let the people continue united and freedom will surely prevail. Let freedom prevail and this people cannot cease to be united. With such a cause, there is but one side and one duty. Whoever is for the unity of the Republic must be for freedom, and whoever is for freedom must be for the unity of the Republic. It is vain to think that one can be advanced without the other. Whoever is against one is against the other, and whoever is lukewarm for one is lukewarm for the other. We must be fervid and strong for both. This is not the time for

[illegible] hesitation. We must act at [illegible] and [illegible] so that the Republic may be saved, while slavery, [illegible] satan, is beaten down under [illegible] feet. And this will be done.

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, May 25, 1863.

The papers are [illegible]. I notice [illegible] of some of Mr. Seward's diplomacy. I alluded to the subject in my last letter, but *The Tribune* publishes a long and minute letter from this city, giving all the facts in reference to the mails of the Peterhoff steamer. *The Republican* of this city copies this letter and prefaces it with an intimation that Senator Sumner is the leader in this new demonstration against Mr. Seward. This is exaggeration. Mr. Sumner, I suppose, has his opinions, like any other man, of Seward's diplomacy; but to say he is engaged in a conspiracy against the Secretary of State is as ridiculous as it is false. Mr. Welles, of course, feels hurt by the interference in his own business by the head of another department, and so does Mr. Bates. By law, as every one knows, the District-Attorneys are under the immediate control of the Attorney-General. Yet it was *Mr. Seward*, and not Attorney-General Bates, who telegraphed to District Attorney Smith in New York to give the mails of the Peterhoff to the British Consul. Of course Mr. Bates dislikes the interference. Mr. Welles doubtless feels that as Secretary of the Navy he is the person most deeply interested in this matter, yet in point of fact he was scarcely consulted at all. The charge made that Mr. Seward ordered the giving up of the mails of the *Peterhoff without the knowledge of the President* is untrue. The order now lies in the State Department, countersigned by Mr. Lincoln. Mr. Seward is a shrewd man, and he did not take so important a step as this without the authority of the President. He has little difficulty in coaxing the President to take his own view of matters pertaining to the State Department. In other matters, Mr. Seward often finds himself unable to influence Mr. Lincoln. On the slavery question, more than once, the Secretary of State has been unable to persuade Mr. Lincoln to take his own view of what was expedient. It looks now as if in the Vallandigham case the President had listened to Gov. Tod and leading Administration men in the West, rather than to Mr. Seward. It is very well known here that Mr. Seward is opposed to inflicting punishment upon Vallandigham. He would have him prosecuted in the courts, or under the recent enactment of Congress within twenty days of his imprisonment turned over to the Circuit Court of the United States. It is now stated that the President *has* interfered in the case, but has sent Vallandigham South. If he has done so, he has violated a carefully-framed enactment of the Congress of the United States. I cannot help thinking that Mr. Seward is right in this matter, and am willing to wait and see if the result of the Western elections does not justify my opinion. Mr. Stanton's foolish arrests in Ohio last Summer put the Legislature into the hands of the Copperheads in the Fall, and now this impolitic military sentence of Vallandigham to banishment will probably elect a Copperhead Governor of the State. These blunders will tell hereafter, when it comes to a general election, especially if the war drags. With successes in the field all the blunders of our political leaders will be covered up and forgotten.

It is said, in reply to those who object to the proceedings in the Vallandigham case, that the government has from the commencement of the war been in the habit of punishing civilians in Maryland. This is true, but it is proper to regard that State as in an attitude of rebellion. Ever since the attack upon the Massachusetts regiments in the streets of Baltimore, the government has had the right to regard the State as semi-disloyal. It is not so with Ohio or New York, and the military arrest and deportation of a citizen of New York is really quite a different thing from the arrest of a rebel Baltimorean who may be found prowling around the outskirts of one of our armies. Gen. Lee with his army was in Maryland less than one year ago. When a rebel army is in the State of New York, and there are citizens of the State suspected of treason, no one who is loyal would blame the Commanding-General for making summary arrests or inflicting summary punishments.

It is now understood here that the President will soon announce his purpose to protect colored soldiers at every cost. The Southern newspapers state that the rebel Congress authorizes the shooting of white officers who command colored regiments, and that the negroes are to be punished by State laws. We all know what that means—it is death by hanging. Mr. Stanton declares that whenever the rebels hang a colored soldier, a white rebel shall certainly swing. If the government is firm in the matter, the rebels will back down. A little firmness is all that is needed.

Mr. Covode of Pennsylvania arrived here on Saturday, for the purpose of warning the government to prepare for cavalry raids along the border. If Gen. Hooker is to act on the defensive during the Summer, Maryland and Pennsylvania will suffer more or less from rebel incursions along their Southern frontiers. There is no doubt of this. John Covode is a shrewd man, and he believes in preparing in season for such a contingency. He is here also for another purpose—to caution the Administration against anything like an attempt on its own part to violate the Conscription Act by refusing to acknowledge the plain provisions of the Act. Mr. Stanton, it is well known, favors the nullification of the money-substitute section of the Act. He does not like the section, and it is said proposes to interpret it as permissive. I do not mean to charge upon the Secretary an intent to violate the law, but his desires have too much to do with his interpretation, and the enemies of the Administration will everywhere accuse the Secretary of violating the law. Mr. Covode says that if the government expects the people to obey the Conscription law, it must not set the example of violating one of its most important provisions. The negligence of the government to execute the law has been unaccountable. It would seem as if tardiness were an inherent vice of this Administration. We need more men in the field at this very moment, but Mr. Stanton, who is so prompt to throw certain men (the most of them traitors at heart) into jail, and so careless of law, has slumbered while our great army has been growing weaker and weaker. The Act passed by Congress is good enough. Under its provisions a fresh draft can be made every fortnight, if desirable. Men may be made to pay $300 over and over again. There is no limit to the repetition of the draft, and a fund can soon be raised large enough to enable the Secretary of War to offer a bounty to volunteers of $1,000 each. There is no trouble with the law as it is, but the Administration is weak, hesitating and divided in opinion. The best thing any member of it has *said* lately came from Mr. Stanton's lips, when he declared he would hang white rebels for loyal black soldiers, sure as he lived—and this was only *said*. Mr. Stanton has not made a formal announcement of what he will do, as he ought for the sake of the colored people, who are asked to enlist, and who will soon be drafted. The Secretary has decided to let the draft operate upon the colored people like the white. Not many of this class can pay $300 to be exempt, and in consequence large numbers will be drafted, especially in this District. Some of them are getting alarmed, fearing their fate, if they were to fall into the hands of the rebels. A simple announcement by the President or the Secretary of War would assure the colored people of the determination of the government to protect them. Let us have it, by all means.

Our new District Court discharged a colored boy two or three days ago, on the ground that the Court had no power to execute the Fugitive Slave law in the District of Columbia. Whereupon a scene ensued. *The Republican* gives the following account of it:

"Yesterday the fugitive slave Andrew Hall was released from custody by Judge Wylie. His former owner and several Maryland slaveholders assembled in the lobby, and seized him whilst he was coming out from the court room. By the kindly interference of several citizens present, he was released from their grasp. Judge Dean rode hastily to the Provost Marshal's office, and stated the facts of the occurrence. A guard went down and took the colored freeman in charge."

The Star gives this account:

"When Andrew Hall, the slave claimed by Mr. Duvall was discharged yesterday afternoon he was about to proceed out of the room door with counsel, when his owner, backed by some friends, seized Hall by the collar. Thereupon a slight altercation ensued, consisting only of hard looks and sharp words. Finally the fugitive was withdrawn from the hall and again taken into the room of Judge Wylie. Mr. Dean then asked that Mr. Duvall be punished for attempting to defeat the will and operations of the Court in arresting Hall after he had been discharged.

"Mr. Jolliffe [illegible] Mr. Dean's [illegible], and Judge Wylie stated that as he had discharged the fugitive, he would not permit him to be seized in this manner [illegible] to the Court House. Thereupon the fugitive took a seat in a little room and [illegible], with his friends, took up a position [illegible], the [illegible] remarking that he would stay there all night, if necessary, to get his property. He said he was a [illegible] citizen, and had expended [illegible] money for the Union than Mr Dean ever owned.

"The fugitive retained his position for some time, and then got up and moved to the other end of the room, when some of the owner's friends, observing this, started off to prevent [illegible].

"At this juncture it was rumored among the crowd that the owner of the slave intended to procure a warrant for the arrest of Mr. Dean on charges of assault and battery, and of having attempted to and succeeded in rescuing a fugitive slave from the hands of his master, while that master was apprehending his own property. It is alleged that Mr Dean took the negro by the collar and drew him away from his master, while the latter had hold by the same place. And it is said that if Mr. Dean can be found guilty of these charges, he will be compelled to pay a fine of one thousand dollars, and to sustain a six months' term of imprisonment. Of course this question will bring within it another consideration of the provisions of the Fugitive Slave law, and a decision as to whether the law can be made applicable to this District.

"The police were sent for, and after a while a small detachment of that force arrived at the scene of trouble. It was found, however, that they had been sent for to prevent a breach of the peace, or any undue disturbance of proceedings '*in rem*' or otherwise.

"The police informed Mr. Bradley, counsel for Mr. Duvall, that they would not allow the fugitive to be carried off by any one until the case was decided.

"Mr. Dean remarked to the negro that he intended getting him a certificate of protection from the Provost Marshal, in order to secure him from rearrest except upon warrant."

The boy was put into the hands of the military, but the Court, as if afraid of the slaveholding interest of Maryland, or influenced by some members of the government, made haste to appoint a Slave Commissioner, and it remains to be seen whether the military authorities will deliver up the slave on the warrant of the new Commissioner. One fact is already established, that this Republican Administration is not thoroughly anti-slavery.

AVON.

PERSONAL.

The venerable Joshua R. Giddings was prostrated by an apoplectic stroke the other day in Montreal. He was getting better when last heard from.

Anna E. Dickinson's lecture, delivered in the Brooklyn Academy of Music on the 22d, was attended by a large audience. She made a favorable impression.

The mountebank George Francis Train narrowly escaped a mob at Prescott, Canada, a few days since, his ribald abuse of the British having excited the popular ire.

President Lincoln, at the invitation of the Union League, will visit Philadelphia, if possible, on the Fourth of July next, to attend a grand Convention and celebration of the National Union League.

Col. John W. Forney is favorably mentioned in some of the loyal journals of Pennsylvania in connection with the Union nomination for Governor of that State. It is said he will be strongly pressed before the State Convention.

Judge Leavitt, whose opinion in the Vallandigham *habeas corpus* case has excited some attention, is a life-long Democrat, having received his appointment from Gen. Jackson himself. He is one of the oldest judges on the Federal bench.

Says *The Evening Post*: "Miss Anna Dickinson is but twenty-two years old. She was formerly employed in the United States Mint, at Philadelphia, and is said to have been dismissed from her place there on account of having expressed her opinion too freely of Gen. McClellan's incapacity."

George Thompson, eldest son of William Lloyd Garrison, has been commissioned as a Lieutenant in the Massachusetts 55th (colored) regiment. He has never, we understand, accepted his father's Non-Resistance views, and has enlisted in the war from a high sense of duty to his country and the cause of freedom.

Henry Ward Beecher preached his farewell sermon on Sunday evening last, reviewing his ministry since his settlement in Brooklyn. He will depart for England in the steamer City of Baltimore to-day. His friends will accompany him down the harbor in a steamer chartered for the occasion.

Rev. Daniel Foster has resigned his post as Chaplain of the Massachusetts 33d, to take a Captain's commission in one of Gen. Saxton's negro regiments. Mr. Foster took a musket and fought in the ranks during the battle of Chancellorsville, in order, as he says, to give his men an example of bravery, which he had been preaching to them several months.

The fugitive slave, Hall, whose case has lately been before the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia (see the letter of our Washington correspondent in another column), and about whose custody a conflict has existed between the civil and military authorities, was on Monday enlisted in the army, thus escaping further pursuit by his owner.

Signor Alberto Mario, one of the editors of *The Nuova Europa*, of Florence, was tried recently before an Assize Court, with the publisher, for his letter to the electors of Modena declining to accept the seat in Parliament which they had spontaneously placed at his disposal. The defendants were acquitted, the jury being unanimous, and *The Nuova Europa* proposes to republish the letter.

Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe has purchased a lot of ground in Hartford, on the banks of Park river, on which to erect a residence. The house is to be in the Gothic style, with pointed ornamental gables, battlemented chimneys, which project from the walls on the outside and serve as buttresses as well as ornaments, hooded windows with the sashes terminating in cupses and all the other peculiarities of that graceful style of architecture. The building is to be of brown stone and brick.

Henry Ward Beecher, in a speech at the late anniversary of the Home Missionary Society, said: "I say boldly that rather than have the States to resume their places under the Constitution with the system of slavery in them, all just as it was before, I had rather give every child that I have; I had rather embark upon a war of twenty years, with all its suffering and all its blood; and a war of twenty years, much as its miseries would be, would be cheap compared with the untold wretchedness of this nation if we undertake the Union again with slavery flourishing and rampant."

The Tribune says: "The fact that a successor has been appointed to Mr. Bayard Taylor as Secretary of Legation at St. Petersburg has been so stated in some journals as to make it the result of a personal difference between Mr. Taylor and Mr. Clay. The fact is quite otherwise. Mr. Taylor accepted the post in opposition to the counsel of valued friends, out of personal regard for Gen. Cameron and at his urgent solicitation. He knew that this acceptance imposed on him a heavy pecuniary sacrifice; as while the cost of living in St. Petersburg is considerable, the salary was not half the amount of his annual income as a writer and lecturer in his own country. The appointment of a new minister relieved Mr. Taylor from all obligation to continue in office, and he at once tendered his resignation. We understand that his eminent fitness for the position is so well understood and appreciated at Washington that a higher diplomatic position has been tendered him, which we trust he has ere this declined."

A dispatch from Boston, dated Monday evening, says: "At a meeting of the Emancipation League, in Tremont Temple this afternoon, a discussion took place between Senator Wilson and Wendell Phillips on the action of the Senate and the Administration relative to officers who had manifested unfriendly feelings toward negro enlistments and the Emancipation policy. Mr. Phillips charged that the Senate had never put its ban on any such officer. Mr. Wilson denied the assertion, and said it had often done so. Mr. Phillips said if so the public had no knowledge of it, and therefore the act was of no public value. The only case coming to public knowledge was that of Gen. Stevenson, and he was promoted instead of being rejected. Mr. Wilson said that Gen. Stevenson was confirmed on the express and urgent recommendation of Gen. Hunter, in whom anti-slavery men had great confidence. The discussion was quite lengthy and spirited, but conducted in an friendly spirit."

M. D. Conway, [illegible] says: "Last night, at a [illegible], I saw Shirley Brooks, editor of 'Aspen Court,' who is known and detested by many among us as the [illegible] writer against us in *Punch*, conversing in the most earnest manner for half an hour with Miss Sarah P. Remond, who, although a very bright and cultivated lady, is of what would be deemed in America the most unconstitutional color. These anomalies which meet us constantly in this country are the hardest things to get used to. We should blunder sadly if we supposed that those here who are in favor of our recognizing the South, and say they would be in America [illegible] pro-slavery."

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

CHAPLAIN FULLER: being a Life Sketch of a New England Clergyman and Army Chaplain. By RICHARD F. FULLER. "I must do something for my country." Boston: Walker, Wise & Co.

The man whose life is sketched in this volume by a loving brother's hand possessed in an eminent degree those traits of character which win universal respect and confidence. He was religious, in the best sense of that much abused word. He was earnest without taint of bigotry or exclusiveness, and more anxious to introduce the *spirit* of Christianity as a working power in individual and social life than to propagate any class of theological opinions, or to magnify even the sect of which he was an honored minister. He was one of those who, in becoming ministers, do not dwarf their manhood, but rather augment it by a more unselfish devotion to the welfare of the human family. In every relation of life, as son, brother, husband, father, teacher, pastor, missionary, or chaplain in the army, he exhibited a self-devotion not often surpassed. To do good to those around him, and especially to inspire in them a purpose to live for noble ends, was his great delight. It was fortunate for him that, in his boyhood, he came under the direct influence and training of his eminent sister, Margaret Fuller, who labored with great diligence and success to give his life the best direction.

Mr. Fuller was born in 1822. He graduated at Cambridge in 1843, and after teaching for a time in Illinois, entered the Divinity School in 1845. His first settlement in the ministry was at Manchester, N. H., where he remained five years, and was very successful. He next became the pastor of the New North Church in Boston, but at the end of six years, finding his strength unequal to the post, exchanged it for the care of a smaller congregation in Watertown. Having preached boldly against slavery, and denounced the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, he naturally, when the rebellion broke out, took an open and decided stand on the side of civilization and freedom. He was soon appointed Chaplain of one of the Massachusetts regiments, and engaged in his new vocation with characteristic ardor and devotion. His labors for the temporal and spiritual good of the soldiers were as wisely directed as they were constant and unselfish. At length, however, he was compelled by ill health to resign his post. He was discharged on the 10th of December, the day previous to that fixed by Gen. Burnside for crossing the Rappahannock at Fredericksburg. To the call for volunteers to lead the deadly assault he felt it his duty to respond; he crossed the river in safety, but fell, soon after entering Fredericksburg, pierced by two rebel bullets.

The story of his useful life is charmingly told by his brother. We would gladly linger on some of the incidents, and give our readers some extracts especially from his correspondence while in the army; but want of space forbids.

THE CONTINENTAL MONTHLY for June contains the usual variety. We give the titles of the articles: The Value of the Union, by Wm. H. Muller; A Merchant's Story, concluded; May Morning; The Navy of the United States; Three Modern Romances; Mill on Liberty, by Hon. F. P. Stanton; Cloud and Sunshine; Is there Anything in it? The Confederation and the Nation, by Edward Carey; Reason, Rhyme and Rhythm, by Mrs. Martha Walker Cook; The Buccaneers of America, by William L. Stone; Virginia; Visit to the National Academy; Was he Successful? by Richard B. Kimball; How Mr. Lincoln became an Abolitionist, by S. B Gookins; Cost of a trip to Europe, and how to go Cheaply; Touching the Soul, by Egbert Phelps; Literary Notices; Editor's Table. New York: J. F. Trow, 50 Greene st.; Sinclair Tousey, 121 Nassau st.

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY for June falls below the usual standard. The best article in it is Weiss's conclusion of "The Horrors of St. Domingo"; the poem, "Light and Dark," by the same author, does not seem to us worthy of the place it fills. The two poems by Mrs. Paul Akers—"Violet Planting" and "Spring at the Capital"—are fine. "Mountains and their Origin" is the title of a paper by Agassiz—good as usual. Dr. Lewis's dissertation on "Weak Lungs and How to Cure them" is fitted to be useful.

The twelfth volume opens with the number for July. It will contain articles by Hawthorne, Holmes, Agassiz and other celebrated writers; also a paper by Robert Dale Owen, presenting original views of the relations of the Constitution to Slavery, and proposing a method by which the government, in the exercise of its acknowledged constitutional powers, may give freedom to every slave in the land.

THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW for April (L. Scott & Co.'s American Edition—38 Walker street) contains eight articles, with the following titles: I. Austrian Constitutionalism; 2. The Reformation Arrested; 3. The Resources of India; 4. The Jews of Western Europe; 5. Lady Morgan; 6. Truth versus Edification; 7. The Antiquity of Man; 8. Contemporary Literature. The second, sixth and seventh articles present with great ability the religious and philosophical views which distinguished the *Westminster* from all its cotemporaries, making it at once the aversion and dread of the Orthodox, and the favorite of Liberal Christians.

THE REBELLION RECORD, Part XXX., brings the "Diary of Events" forward to June 27, 1862, and the collection of "Documents and Narratives" to Aug. 17, 1862. It is necessary to keep thus far behind in order to verify every occurrence before placing it on record. The portraits of this number are those of Com. Porter and Brig.-Gen. Crawford. New York: Edited by FRANK MOORE; published by G. P. Putnam, 441 Broadway; C. T. Evans, 448 Broadway.

BLACKWOOD'S MAGAZINE for May (American Edition, L. Scott & Co., 38 Walker st.) contains Wilson's Prehistoric Man; Caxtoniana, Part XVI.; The Life of Gen. Sir Howard Douglas, Bart.; Italian Brigandage; Ludwig Uhland; My Investment in the Far West; The Landscape of Ancient Italy, as Delineated in the Pompeian Paintings; American State Papers; The Budget.

SOUTHERN INSTRUMENTS OF TORTURE.—James J. Spellman, 70 Grove st., New York, has published a lithographic sheet containing diagrams of fourteen different instruments of torture, used by the masters and overseers of the South for the purpose of subduing their refractory "chattels." It is a picture to move the heart to fresh indignation against slavery as the cruelest system of oppression that the world ever saw.

KIDNAPPING.—*St. Louis, April* 19.—A disgraceful business has come to light in this city. It has been carried on for several weeks in the guise and under the cover of the old slave code laws of the State, enacted in the dark ages, and which the Legislature only [illegible] repealed long since. A well known dealer in ebony goods has been buying up claims to runaway negroes, held by notorious rebels in this city and elsewhere, in cases where the whereabouts of the negro had been discovered. Whether in the country or in this city, the negroes have been forcibly taken and placed in the county jail or calaboose as runaways, the master paying their board, as required by law, at the rate of 33 cents per day. When fifteen or twenty are thus collected in the calaboose here, they are released by order of the master and secretly carried at midnight across the river in omnibuses to the Ohio and Mississippi Railway depot on Bloody Island. Here they are guarded by hirelings of their kidnappers until morning, and then carried off by railway to Evansville, Ind., and thence to Henderson, Ky., or to New Albany and Louisville. The Copperheads of Southern Illinois and Indiana are not to be feared in a case of abduction of this character. The guilty parties are liable to be hauled up for breaking the safeguards given to negroes by the Provost-Marshal.—*Cor. Tribune.*

A RESCUE.—In Nashville, Tennessee, the other day, a slave father rescued from the clutches of her "owner" a daughter who was about to be carried away to a life of degradation and servitude. The event does not seem to have shocked any loyal citizen, wherefrom we infer that the slave-hunter's occupation in Tennessee is effectually gone.

Chronicles of the War.

LATEST NEWS TO [illegible].

The country has been in a state of [illegible] for several days past in relation to Gen. Grant's [illegible] upon Vicksburg. On Saturday and Sunday we had reports that the place had been taken, but they were subsequently contradicted, and at the present writing, Wednesday [illegible], we only know that Gen. Grant, on the 22d had not met with full success, though he was said to be sure of ultimate victory.

The following is a summary of the recent events in that quarter: On the 30th of April Gen. Grant landed his forces at [illegible], below Grand Gulf. On the [illegible] of May the battle of Port Gibson was fought, resulting in the defeat of the rebels with heavy loss, and the evacuation of Grand Gulf. On the 12th the battle at [illegible] was fought. On the 14th Joe Johnston was defeated at Jackson, losing 400 men and seventeen pieces of artillery. On the 16th the battle of Baker's Creek was fought, resulting in the defeat of the entire Vicksburg force under Pemberton, with the loss of [illegible] men and twenty-nine pieces of artillery. On the 17th the same force [illegible] defeated at the Big Black River Bridge, with the loss of 2,600 men and seventeen cannon. On the 18th Vicksburg was closely invested by our forces. Pemberton had lost 57 out of 60 pieces of artillery taken out by him. The city was cut off from Haines's Bluff, which was abandoned by the enemy, and a line of supplies was opened to the Mississippi on the Chickasaw Bayou. There was sharp fighting through the day on the 19th. Gen. Steele won and held the upper bluffs and the upper water batteries, and rested his right on the Mississippi. Admiral Porter's gunboats during the night kept the enemy on the alert, though [illegible] them not a moment's cessation of peril. On the 21st the centre corps of Gen. Grant's army had fought its way to within one mile of Vicksburg Courthouse; the right wing was about a mile and a half from the same point, and the left wing about the same distance on the left. Six thousand prisoners and 74 pieces of artillery had been captured. Our forces completely encircled the town, our men on Friday night having their colors planted on the enemy's works, and lying themselves on the exterior slope. Our loss had not been heavy, though the rebels were making a firm resistance. The place was expected to fall into our hands the next day.

It was understood in Washington on Tuesday that Gen. Grant intercepted a dispatch from Jeff. Davis to Gen. Pemberton promising him 100,000 men by way of reënforcements if he would hold out for only two weeks. We have some rumors from rebel sources, by way of Fortress Monroe; but they are so contradictory, if not purposely confused, that little can be made of them.

The Army and the Negroes.

EVERYWHERE THE AMERICAN GENERAL RECEIVES HIS MOST USEFUL AND RELIABLE INFORMATION FROM THE NEGRO, *who hails his coming as the harbinger of Freedom.*"—*Wm. H. Seward's Official Dispatch to Mr. Adams.*

ENLISTING COLORED TROOPS IN OHIO.

Gov. Tod is doing all in his power to promote the enlistment of black soldiers in Ohio. A. P. Dunlap is working there as agent of the Military Committee of Massachusetts, and the eloquent J. Mercer Langston is going from town to town and addressing the colored people, who throng to hear him.

THE SLAVES OF JOHN M. BOTTS.

A Washington letter says that a few days ago a number of slaves belonging to John M. Botts came within our lines at Union Mills. Mr. Botts requested the commander of the post to return them to him, as he was a loyal man. The commander immediately telegraphed to Gen. Heintzelman to know what course to pursue. Col. Lathrop, of the General's staff, replied that they were free the moment they entered our lines, and could not be remanded to slavery.

GEN. HUNTER AND THE NEGRO REGIMENTS.

Boston, Thursday, May 14, 1863.—Major-Gen. Hunter writes to Gov. Andrew, under date of Port Royal, May 4, a letter strongly complimentary of the colored regiments in the service in his department. He speaks of them as hardy, brave, patient and obedient; and says that with the brigade of liberated slaves already in the field, and a few regiments of intelligent colored men from the North, he would place them in a condition to make an extensive incursion upon the mainland, through the most densely populated slave regions; and from an expedition of this character he doubts not that the most beneficial results would arise.

200,000 NEGRO TROOPS.

Says the Washington correspondent of *The Times*: "The Secretary of War, referring to the intention to enter more vigorously on the work of raising negro troops immediately on Adjt.-Gen. Thomas's return, said, a few days ago, that within six months we would have 200,000 negro troops in the field."

THE COLORED REGIMENTS FROM MASSACHUSETTS.

Boston, Monday, May 25, 1863.—The 54th Massachusetts (colored) leave Boston on Thursday for Port Royal in the steamer De Molay.

The 55th (colored), now forming, has about 300 men, and is rapidly increasing. The Governor of Ohio has made application to Gov. Andrew to have Ohio men appointed in the colored regiments in proportion to the number of men furnished by that State. Advices from various sections of Ohio show that recruiting for these regiments is more successful than was anticipated.

COMING IN CROWDS.

The operations of Gen. Grant in Mississippi are carrying freedom to multitudes of slaves. A letter from Fourteen Mile Creek to *The Tribune*, dated May 14, says: "The great problem of Emancipation is fast coming to a solution. The slaves are flocking in from all quarters, the Copperheads to the contrary notwithstanding, by the thousands. Like the bondsmen of Gopher, they help themselves to 'Massa's' horses, wagons and household wares; and, condensing kitchen, parlor and bed-chamber into the compass of a cart or carryall, come flocking into camp from all quarters. Women on horseback, children in quantities that would awaken the liveliest anticipations of a Malthusian, provoke the laughter and applause of the soldiers, who, by the way, are fast becoming practical Abolitionists. The 1st Mississippi, or *Massassippi* as they are styled, are being rapidly organized by Col. Bolinger, formerly Captain in the 2d Illinois Cavalry. The negroes are our best, frequently our only trustworthy, guides, and form a very valuable arm of the service."

COLORED ARTILLERISTS.

The New Orleans correspondent of the Boston *Journal*, speaking of a colored battery of heavy artillery, in the defenses north of New Orleans, says the company had been organized only some two months, but in that time they had built for themselves a fine and tastily ornamented camp, in a location which was formerly a dank and noisome swamp, filling it up with earth in some places more than three feet, graveling the walk in some places and paving it with bricks in others, turfing the borders to the paths, and laying out other portions in patriotic devices. "As regards the manual of arms, they were drilled two or three hours daily, and had, as I have said, achieved a proficiency truly wonderful. With a natural reputation for dullness of comprehension, we found them quick motioned and catching and obeying all orders with a promptness and alacrity, the truth compels me to admit, far in advance of almost any white troops I have seen in the volunteer service. This is a strong assertion, but I make it advisedly, and with thought. This company, 150 strong, is composed almost entirely of young men, between 20 and 30 years of age, robust, broad shouldered and healthy looking. All were once slaves, and the very fact of their former servitude leads them instinctively to a discipline such as it takes white soldiers long to obtain. The non-commissioned officers are blacks like the privates, and they appreciate their positions, and study constantly to be worthy of the confidence of their commander."

GEN. ULLMANN IN NEW ORLEANS.

From The New Orleans Era, May 12.

Gen. Daniel Ullmann and Staff are now at the St. Charles Hotel, which will be for the present the head-quarters of his command. The General has just returned from the front, where he has had long conferences with Gen. Banks. The General commanding, we learn, has turned over to Gen. Ullmann all the colored regiments now raised, except the Engineer corps; and gives him the entire command and control of the enrolling, equipping and putting into the field the whole force to be hereafter organized. In addition to the present four regiments, he has already twenty-five hundred men recruited in camp, and will immediately proceed to organize a Corps d'Armée, complete in all its parts, infantry, artillery and cavalry.

Of course, the field and line officers, and all officers of the staff, medical and otherwise, will be white.

The General brings with him into the Department a superior corps of officers. The greater number have been selected from among the commissioned and non-commissioned officers of the Army of the Potomac, promoted to advanced rank in his command, for soldierly qualities displayed in the march and on the field. All of these had their strength and courage tested in battle; and many have fought in every engagement of McClellan's Peninsular campaign—in the series of conflicts under Pope—at Antietam and in the struggle before Fredericksburg. A number of gentlemen from the celebrated Seventh Regiment of New York city are also with him.

He has many officers who have won distinction in the recent campaigns of Europe. Prince Ghicka, of the reigning house of Moldavia, who served in the Italian campaign, resigned a position on the staff of a Major-General in the Army of the Potomac to accept a Captaincy in Gen. Ullmann's command, through preference for the peculiar service for which it is designed. A nephew of Kossuth, also distinguished in the Italian war, commands a battalion of cavalry. Officers of the English army, of large experience in the Crimean war, and the Sepoy rebellion of India, hold staff and regimental positions. A son of Vice President Haulin, late of Fremont's staff has the Colonelcy of a regiment. Finally, two Staff Departments, and several field offices, are filled by accomplished officers of the regular army, who will infuse into the command the exactness of discipline which, more than anything else, contributes to the effectiveness of a military body.

In the further organization of the corps, we are assured, the same carefulness will be exercised in the selection of competent men for command from regiments in this and other departments, and as the General has the power of summarily promoting or dismissing any of his officers for cause, promotion and [illegible], when appointed, will not be allowed to [illegible] his success to his enterprise.

Gen. Ullmann is clothed with the [illegible] powers to promote or dismiss [illegible], Gen. Thomas [illegible] another department [illegible] to have been placed in his hands by the President, and no one who knows Gen. Ullmann that he will exercise those powers with decision and severity, if necessary. The great end for which we struggle must be attained—the wicked rebellion, "by all the means which the God of Nature has placed in our power," must be crushed out.

Correspondence of The Tribune.

It has been supposed by some that no colored troops would be raised in these [illegible] except by the proclamation of the President, but this is a mistake. Gen. Ullman has authority to raise his troops in any part of the State within his reach, and he will do it. With the army to be raised here at once, we will march forward, and with a leader who we know means to throw his whole heart and soul, and mind, and strength into the work. Gen. Ullman has picked his men to execute his plans. His officers are not men who are either cold or lukewarm on the subject of crushing this rebellion. They believe it must be done. They believe freedom to be the end of the war, as slavery was the origin of it. They are men who have seen many months service on the battle-field. They are men who face the threat of Jeff. Davis as a lion faces a contest with an antagonist. They have the boldness of lions, and with this boldness, together with a confidence in the justice of helping the slave strike in this cause, they will go on to the work which is now clearly before them.

Already large numbers of freedmen are coming down from Franklin, Iberia, Washington, Opelousas, and other points, eager to enlist, and more eager to fight. They have heard of Gen. Ullmann, and are anxious to give themselves up to him. The happiest feeling prevails here in regard to this new movement; and when it becomes generally known that Gen. Banks gives so cordial a support to it, the movement will be still more popular. With all who sincerely desire the overthrow of the rebellion, this move can be none other than popular; but whether popular or not, so long as it helps in the salvation of this great land, it shall be sustained, and with a man whose soul is in earnest in regard to it, it must and shall succeed. But the time for doubting is passed—the time for boldness and confidence is at hand.

WILL THE NEGROES FIGHT?

At the late siege of Washington, N. C., a brave band of soldiers were set for the defense of Rodman's Point. The enemy, ten to one, pressed heavily upon them to drive them from the point or destroy them. Overpowered, they fell back to the river (Tar) where only a scow remained in which they could embark. They hurried into her. The balls came thick and fast from the rebels close upon their heels. The boat had to be pushed from shore with poles. But alas! when she was loaded she stuck fast in the mud. The boat's sides afforded some shelter to the soldiers while they remained lying; but who should leap overboard and push her out into the stream? Who would deliberately lay down his life for the possible salvation of his fellows? When several soldiers were about to do it, a large negro said, "You keep still and save your life. I can't fight. I can push off the boat. If they kill me it's nothing. You are soldiers, and they need you to fight." This said, the negro leaped overboard and pushed the boat out into the stream, and sprang back into the boat, pierced by seven bullets. He died in two days. Does Greece or Rome offer a higher style of patriotism?—*Zion's Herald.* G., 46TH.

HOW A NEGRO REGIMENT LOOKS.

Correspondence of The Springfield Republican.

Boston, Thursday, May 21.—The scene at Readville camp last Monday was an exhilarating one for those who believe this rebellion can be put down by the exercise of proper methods and who are impatient to see such methods resorted to as soon and as fast as possible. Here was a regiment of a thousand men, every one of them with an Enfield musket—or Springfield, no matter which—and apparently with rather an uncommon amount of muscle and will to devote to the using of it. They marched well, they wheeled well, they stood well, they handled their guns well, and there was about their whole array an air of completeness and order and *morale* such as I have not seen surpassed in any white regiment. I believe I am not biased by negrophilism or coerced by the dark shadow of that bad time which the Copperhead thinks is coming when white men shall have no rights which the black man is bound to respect, but as I am unmilitary, I would not give an opinion of this regiment if I did not find it confirmed by everybody who has seen it. There was a good sprinkling of Abolitionists among the bystanders, but among those who looked on with approbation if not admiration, there must have been many who within the last two years have declared that they would not fight for or with the negro, and would not have the negro fight for them, and did not believe he could fight, or would, and that if the rebellion couldn't be put down by white soldiers, it ought not to be put down at all. Monday they were round grunting out, "Who says these niggers wont fight?" leaving one to suppose that they were original friends of the policy of encouraging and employing them. The Governor said that he was identified with the 54th, and his administration would stand or fall with its success or failure. He has taken great pains with its organization. Col. Shaw of the 54th is a grandson of Robert G. Shaw, son of Francis G. Shaw of Staten Island, and brother-in-law of George William Curtis. He is slight but compact in figure, with light hair and mustache, and without a beard. He looks and speaks like a good soldier. The Lieutenant-Colonel and Major are Hollowells of Philadelphia, strong anti slavery men.

THE KANSAS REGIMENT.

Leavenworth, Kansas, Sunday, May 17, 1863.—We have intelligence from the First Kansas colored regiment, dated the 12th inst., from Baxter's Springs. The regiment reached that point in five days from Fort Scott—Col. Williams, with four companies and one gun, making a detour through the border Counties of Missouri. In his march he arrested and brought to camp about a dozen prominent rebel sympathizers, beside a quantity of mules, horses, etc. The latter is used for scouting purposes. A block-house is being built, and since their arrival at Baxter's Springs, two or three successful night scouts have been made resulting in the capture of some dozen bushwhackers and twenty-five or thirty prominent disloyal citizens. As the rebels have been profuse in their declarations that colored soldiers should not be treated as prisoners of war, and their white officers should be shot, Col. Williams has determined to be on the sure side, and will arrest the prominent rebel sympathizers, holding them as hostages for the safety and proper treatment of his men or officers, should any fall into the rebel hands.—*Cor. Times.*

OFFICERS FOR NEGRO REGIMENTS.

An order will be speedily issued announcing the officers for the negro regiments organized by Adjt.-Gen. Thomas in the South west; also for the negro regiments in this District.

A Commission has been appointed to examine officers for the colored regiments now being organized for the service. Maj.-Gen. Casey is President of the Commission.—*Wash Cor. Times.*

FEMALE COMPLAINTS should be cured, as they surely can be, by a few doses of AYER'S SARSAPARILLA.

Summary.

Thirteen negroes were sold at Rockville, Maryland, on the 30th ultimo, for less than $1,000, or about $75 each. They were all "likely boys and girls." Clearly, the "institution" is in a bad way in "My Maryland."

The women of New England are no half-way patriots. One in Boston, through a fair gotten up entirely by herself and personal friends, and held in her own parlors, received over $1,000 in aid of soldiers' hospitals.

NEWSPAPER OFFICE DESTROYED.—*Huntingdon, Pa., Wednesday, May* 20, 1863.—The office of *The Monitor*, a Democratic newspaper, was destroyed to-day, and the material thrown into the street. Loss $1,000.

A NEW PLATFORM.—A smart negro the other day, in making his exodus through Kansas City, was driving a stylish buggy with the following inscriptions: "Emancipation and no Compensation," "Deportation and Free Transportation."

It is said that Russia has already expended 18,000,000 florins in her abortive efforts to put down the insurrection in Poland. It seems certain that the revolt has nearly exhausted the funds of the empire, and that the Russian government has sent agents to England, France and Germany to ascertain where a supply of money can be had cheapest.

NEGRO SOLDIERS ATTACKED.—Two mustered, but unarmed companies of the negro regiments raised here were attacked while passing through Georgetown, this evening, by a band of pro-slavery [illegible]. They turned upon their assailants, routed them, and beat some of them in a most wholesome manner. One of the rowdies was hurt very badly.—*Washington telegram.*

A young Copperhead, attending school in Boston, who interlarded into a National song which the children were singing, the words, "Jeff. Davis is our father" was suddenly seized by the collar by Miss H., the teacher, and taken across her knee, and the recipient [illegible] a spanking of [illegible] him. Miss H. is a spirited girl, and deserves some gallant soldier for a husband.—*Charlestown Advertiser.*

SOUTHERN CROPS IN ILLINOIS.—Letters from Southern Illinois relate that the people there are raising, this year, considerable crops of cotton, tobacco and sugar. Over one hundred tons of cotton seed were scattered at various points in Southern Illinois, by the Illinois Central Railroad Company, during the past Spring and Winter; and all this was purchased or distributed, to be planted this season.

JEFF. DAVIS DESPONDENT.—A correspondent of *The Times* says: "The President has [illegible] from the head-quarters of the Army of the Potomac [illegible] letter of Jefferson Davis, addressed to one of his Generals, in which he speaks despondingly of affairs in the Southwest and on the Rappahannock. The letter was found in a rebel camp at Fredericksburg, and is dated May 2." It is hardly probable that the rebel chief ever indulges in such small business as corresponding with mere regimental officers.

FREE-LOVE SETTLEMENT IN NICARAGUA.—A company of emigrants (said to be free lovers) about twenty-five in number, male and female, arrived at Nicaragua about two months since, from New York, in a schooner. Their

[illegible] Tyler [illegible] have [illegible] Dr. Tyler [illegible] New York [illegible] made with the government of Nicaragua. Their prospect [illegible].

[illegible] LUNATIC ASYLUM. [illegible] [illegible] the Lunatic Asylum [illegible] [illegible] He [illegible] as [illegible] hands [illegible] to the country [illegible] for [illegible]. The scene was impressive and affecting.

A MODEL WILL OF A [illegible].—The following will, written by a [illegible], was recently proved and allowed at the Probate Court for Middlesex County, Massachusetts:

"[illegible], April [illegible].

"I give my real estate to my [illegible] to be divided equally among them.

[illegible]

"[illegible]"

Many a [illegible] accomplished [illegible] three lines.

PRISCILLAN [illegible].—[illegible] say that *The Tribune* [illegible] that Seward [illegible] when he [illegible] to Robert [illegible] in a roundabout, smutty sort of a way, is not correct. The incident [illegible] and is an old story. *The Tribune*, however, may be right in its doubt [illegible] "niggers." Years ago, before [illegible] Seward said Douglas would never be President, for no man could be President who was in the habit of spelling negro with two g's. But as Seward has abandoned his [illegible], why not his orthography?—*Boston Cor. Springfield Republican.*

FREE LABOR COTTON.—The Arago brought up 188 bales of clean Sea Island cotton, sorted, and in good condition. Of this 160 bales, or about 64,000 pounds, are the product, entirely, of free labor. The remainder is cotton raised by the slaves of [illegible] in Florida, but captured by the loyal blacks, and ginned, sorted and packed at Beaufort by free labor. There is still at Beaufort a quantity of cotton, raised by the South Carolina freedmen, amounting to some forty thousand pounds in the seed, which was not cleansed in time to send up with the Arago, because the machinery in the gin house at Beaufort broke down some time ago.

EMPLOYMENT OF THE CONTRABANDS.—*Washington, Saturday, May* 23.—The solution of the national "contraband" puzzle seems to have fairly commenced here. Eight thousand acres of valuable land in Virginia, opposite this city, consisting of the celebrated "Arlington Estate," owned by Gen. Robert E. Lee, and other property of rebels in the vicinity of it, have been seized by the government, and appropriated to cultivation at the hands of the otherwise unemployed freedmen. Quarters have been provided for them, and three hundred women and children, and men incompetent to the hardier labor of teamsters, etc., have already found homes there. A little patch of ground will be set apart exclusively for each family, and stands will be provided in the market for them to sell their produce. Beyond this encouragement to self-support, the profits will accrue to the government. One thousand tons of hay are ready to cut. The negroes take hold of the enterprise eagerly.—*Times.*

PARDON OF ALBERT HORN, THE SLAVE TRADER.—United States Marshal Murray on Friday received from Washington the official paper containing a full and unconditional pardon of Albert Horn, who was convicted at the last October term of the United States District Court of fitting out a vessel for the slave trade. The reasons assigned by the President for the pardon are that it has been recommended by several respectable physicians, who certify that Horn is suffering from disease of the lungs and liver, which are much aggravated by his confinement. Many other respectable New Yorkers have also urged his pardon, among whom are the United States Marshal, Peter V. King, Simeon Draper and others. Horn was sentenced to five years' confinement, and since his conviction has been kept in the County jail in Ludlow street. When Marshal Murray took up the President's pardon to him yesterday morning he was much affected by it, and wept freely. His wife, who was also present, was completely overcome with joy.—*N. Y. Times*, 23d.

A REPRESENTATIVE NEGRO.—A Washington correspondent describes a negro he saw at the Capitol, whose dress and appearance made him a fit representative of the condition of his race in this country at the present moment: "During a walk that I took through the Capitol grounds this morning (which are now full of birds and flowers), I saw a tall and very black negro sitting in a pensive attitude upon the steps of the western portico. He was so black and his curly hair so matted, that he looked like a native Congo. He had on a gray overcoat, given to him by a Confederate officer, pantaloons given to him by a Federal soldier, and was without a hat. The substance of his story was that he had come from Carolina, that he had no money, had no friends, did not know what to do or what was to become of him. As I looked upon this poor unfortunate creature, and thought of the war and of the building which afforded a background for his portrait, I was forcibly reminded of Macaulay's famous New Zealander sitting on the ruins of London Bridge."

JEFF. DAVIS'S PLANTATION.—The correspondent of *The Times*, writing from Mississippi, says: "The steamer Tuscumbia lies opposite the plantations of Jeff. Davis and his brother Joseph. The house and grounds of the latter indicate the residence of a man of taste; but the plantation of the Confederate President is very ordinary in its character; the house is one-storied, not very costly, and indifferently well furnished. The negroes, with the exception of a few superannuated ones, have all been run off by their master, who has not visited his country-house in two years. The gunboat men brought off a few remembrances—some pub. doc's., a milch cow, hickory chair, saddle-horse, and some few volumes of miscellaneous books. There is a fine piano in the drawing room, which, I believe, will be transferred to the Tuscumbia to-day. The negroes say that Jeff. was a very severe master, in which he was the opposite of his brother. The owner, in departing, took everything of value, leaving only public documents, and a few of Mrs. Jefferson Davis's letters, written ere that lady made Mr. Davis happy with her hand and heart."

THE CONFEDERATE SODOM.—The Richmond *Whig* of the 14th inst., in an article exhibiting the prevalence of vice in that city, reproduces the following from a correspondent of the Atlanta (Ga.) *Commonwealth*:

"Richmond is, I suppose, at this time, one of the most undesirable places in the Confederacy. The old inhabitants of the place, most of them, are either away or keep themselves within doors. The offscourings of creation are assembled here for the vilest purposes. It is really dangerous for one to walk the streets, in some parts of the city, after eight. Burglaries, thefts and robberies are of nightly occurrence, and not unfrequently the papers of the morning record murders committed the night previous.

"Here, too, the miserable, thieving gamblers can be counted by the hundreds. Main street, as you may know, is the most fashionable street of the city, and in this street, between Seventh and Fourteenth streets, are the most valuable houses in the city. Whilst the lower stories of these buildings are devoted to lawful purposes, the upper are the dens of iniquity and shame. The gambling tables are spread and the cards are dealt out nightly, and thousands are won and lost; and frequently, to make the unsuspecting stake his last dollar, he is drugged with poisonous whiskey. To cap the climax of their wickedness, it is not unfrequently the case that common women of the town have apartments hard by the gambler's table. How degenerate! How many men, in an evil hour, have been fleeced of their all by these practical swindlers! How many families, in an hour or a day, have been reduced to penury and wretchedness!"

MARRIED.

GARDNER—HUNT.—In Waterloo, N. Y., on Wednesday, May 20th, by Friends' Ceremony, LYMAN C. GARDNER, of Fayetteville, to SARAH M., daughter of the late Richard P. Hunt.

Special Notices.

THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS will hold its Eleventh Yearly Meeting at Longwood, Chester Co., Pa., commencing on Fifth-day (Thursday), the 4th of Sixth month (June), 1863, at 10 o'clock, a.m., and continuing two or three days.

Among the friends from a distance who are expected to attend the meeting we are authorized to mention the name of THEODORE D. WELD.

Letters of sympathy from friends of the cause who may be unable to attend will be gratefully welcomed, and may be addressed (before the 1st of June) to Oliver Johnson, Clerk of the meeting, 48 Beekman street, New York; later than that to Hamorton, Chester Co., Pa.

Trains leave Philadelphia, N.E. corner Eighteenth and Market streets, at 7.50 a.m. and 4.30 p.m. Excursion tickets from Philadelphia to Greenwood station and return—good from June 1 to June 9th inclusive—$1.20. Passengers can go and return the same day. The Sunday morning train leaves Philadelphia at 8 a.m.

FRIENDS OF HUMAN PROGRESS.—The 15th Yearly Meeting of the Friends of Human Progress will be held at the usual place near Waterloo, N. Y., on Friday the [illegible] of June next, commencing at 10 a.m., and continuing through Saturday and Sunday.

This is a gathering for the purpose of earnest [illegible], of council, encouragement and assistance in all ways of true and worthy living. [illegible] of [illegible] knowledge, improvement, and growth, are invited—all seekers for light, all doers for truth, [illegible] and man.

Let the meeting this year, in [illegible] spirit and faithfulness, be correspondent [illegible] its avowed aims; equal, also, to the high and [illegible] exigencies of the present hour.

Communications [illegible] the meeting should be addressed to PHEBE B. DEAN, Waterloo, N. Y.

PHEBE B. DEAN,	ALFRED VAIL,
[illegible]	[illegible]
MARY DOTY,	[illegible]
STEPHEN SHEAR,	Committee of [illegible].

Waterloo, May, A. D. 1863.

AARON M. POWELL will speak in Troy, N. Y., Sunday, May 31.

Advertisements.

In Preparation.

SPEECHES AND LECTURES

BY

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

This work is already in the hands of the printers and will be issued shortly. It will be got up in the best style of American workmanship—from the [illegible] press; printed on fine tinted paper, bound in [illegible], and illustrated with a striking likeness of Mr. Phillips on steel, by H. W. [illegible]. It will be in crown octavo, of at least [illegible] pages. Price $2. Sent by mail, prepaid, to any part of the United States, on receipt of the retail price. Agents wanted in every [illegible]. Terms liberal. Address for Circulars [illegible]

Miscellaneous Department.

NOT YET.

BY CAROLINE A. MASON.

Not yet;—along the purpling sky
  We see the dawning ray,
But leagues of cloudy distance lie
  Between us and the day.

Not yet;—the Aloe waits serene
  Its promised advent hour—
A patient century of green
  To one full perfect flower.

Not yet;—no harvest song is sung
  In the sweet ear of Spring,
Nor hear we, while the blade is young,
  The reaper's sickle swing.

Not yet;—before the crown, the cross;
  The struggle ere the prize;
Before the gain the fearful loss,
  And death ere Paradise!

Fitchburg, Mass. —*Independent.*

THE STATE OF THE COUNTRY.

A LECTURE,

BY WENDELL PHILLIPS.

From The Tribune of May 12.

Mr. Wendell Phillips gave a lecture last evening, in the Cooper Institute, before a very large audience, on the State of the Country. The lecture was one of a series before the Sixteenth Ward Republican Association, and its President, Mr. Russell, introduced the orator as the man who had done more than any other except John Brown to bring this people to the banks of Jordan (loud cheers).

Mr. Phillips said:

Ladies and Gentlemen: I understand this is a Ward meeting—the Sixteenth Ward of New York, the banner Ward for Radical Republicanism (applause). A very respectable-sized meeting for a Ward meeting (laughter). I am glad, for the first time in my life, to be adopted into the politics of New York city, and to address a Ward meeting in behalf of justice and liberty. The text of my address, the lesson of the hour, it seems to me, is: Patience and Faith. Possess your souls in patience, not as having already attained, not as if we were already perfect, but because the whole nation, as one man, has for more than a year set its face Zionward. Ever since September 22 of last year, the nation has turned its face Zionward, and ever since Burnside took the helm of the vessel, it has moved toward that point (cheers). Now, a nation moving, and moving in the right path—there is no reason for doubt, there is no occasion for despair; we have found out at last the method, and we are in earnest. Patience, the passion of great souls, makes conquest certain; when the human heart is once capable of this greatest courage, no matter what may be the clouds on the horizon, no matter how slow the motion, either official or national, may be, now and then God lifts the cloud, so as to show us the blue sky behind; no matter how dark political mistake or treachery may lower, the moment comes when the North says that it is all a phantasmagoria, and behind, the great heart of the nation beats true to its destiny (cheers). When I stood on this platform four months ago, men said: "You must not be surprised if blood flows in the streets. Traitors are trying to take the great Capital of the North out of our arms, and the Democratic party of the State is behind them." But one fine morning there was cautious hesitation in the leading Democrat of Albany, and the Mayor of New York defeated him on his first move (cheers). When the Counties came to be represented, the leaders found an army with officers and no rank and file. And the Goliath of Connecticut Copperheads has been killed, not by a stripling, but by a girl (applause). Or if we must add to her merits that of Gen. Hamilton of Texas, the eloquent champion of the Union, why then we can almost say that out of the mouths of girls and slaveholders God is perfecting liberty (applause). No, I have no doubt, no despair. Gradually, one after another, the shams of the North fall away. It is to be a long fight, no local struggle—only one part of the great battle going on the world over, and which began ages ago—only one grand division, one army corps doing its duty in the great struggle between free institutions and caste institutions, the world over. Freedom, Democracy and the institutions that rest upon classes. We have only the outskirts of that struggle, and wherever caste lives, wherever class power exists, whether it be on the banks of the Thames or the Seine, whether by the side of the Ganges or the Danube, there the South has an ally as certainly as the surgeon's knife gives pain when it touches the living fibre (cheers). And against this mighty marshalling of everything that is strong in human selfishness, the Democracy of the North does battle. Now, that Democratic element in the North is strong enough, were it one and united, to have crushed all its foes on this continent in ninety days. There never was a time since the commencement of the struggle when, if the North had been a unit, the war might not have been ended in three months; and so ended it would have left slavery where it found it. But the North has never been a unit. With the North as a unit, democratic, intelligent, resolved, in earnest, the South never would have risked the struggle. But she knew that the North was divided into three great parties. One was routine, West Point, too lazy to think (great applause). I resolve Hunkerism into indolence and cowardice, too lazy to think, and not daring to think. The man of the past is the man that got his ideas before he was twenty, and had rather think as his father thinks than take the labor of thinking himself; he is a Hunker, and he will die such (laughter). And the North had a second element, the race hatred of the negro, negrophobia, the Saxon contempt of the black blood, disgust with the question of the negro, hatred of him as another race, contempt of him as a slave, and weariness of the question. Outside of that was the Democrat of the North, in the good sense of the term, the man that believed in the manhood of his brother the world over, and was willing he should have his rights. Against such a North the South rebelled—one of its hands tied up by negro hatred, and the other by constitutional scruples, and West Point on its shoulders. Against such a North the South rebelled. You remember it well—the North that never dared to apply the line and the plummet to the ethics of its civilization—that never dared to have a logic which would know no black, no white, when it studied its duties—the North that both in pulpit and in civil life believed and obeyed the old proverb, "When the monkey reigns let every man dance" (laughter). As long as a wicked, contemptible institution had honors and wealth and fashion to bestow, so long the pregnant knee was crooked before it. That North the South met in battle and mistook, as we Abolitionists did (that is, the issue is to show whether we did mistake, we hope so) how far the canker had gone, how great weight this routine of Hunkerism had on the body of the people; that North rallied for the struggle, poured out her money like water, and her sons with ever-growing willingness for the great battle betwixt Democracy and slavery, betwixt God and the devil, for the world and the century. The government was equally in the dark, equally undecided, equally uncertain what course to pursue, and for a long time we stumbled. Why? Well, I think, because our rulers were educated Whigs. The old Whig party, good as it was in many respects, virtuous in many of its impulses, correct in certain of its aspirations, had one great defect: it had no confidence in the people, no trust in the masses; it did not believe in the conscience or the intelligence of the million; it looked out upon the whole world as in a Probate Court, of which the educated and the wealthy were the guardians. And so when this government entered on the great work of defending the nation in its utmost peril, they dared not fling themselves on the bosom of the million, and trust the country to the hearts of those that loved it. Your President sat in Washington, doubtful what he might do, how far he might go. Month after month, stumbling, faithless, uncertain, he ventured now a little step, and now another, surprised that at every step the nation were before him, ready to welcome any word he chose to say, and to support any policy he chose to submit; so that matters of vexed dispute, matters of earnest doubt, the moment the bugle gave a certain sound, have passed into dead issues. You know that when the rebellion first broke out no man dared speak out touching the negro. The South fought to sustain slavery, and the North fought not to have it hurt. But Butler pronounced that magic word "contraband," and summoned the negro into the arena (applause). It was a poor word. I do not know that it is sound law, but Lord Chatham said, "*nullus liber homo*" is poor Latin, but it is worth all the classics. Contraband is a bad word and may be bad law, but just then it was worth all the Constitution (applause), for in a moment of critical emergency it summoned the saving elements into the national arena, and it showed the government how far the sound fibre of the nation extended. When Fremont (loud and long-continued applause)—why won't you ever let me go on when I name Fremont? (Laughter.) I say when he pronounced that word Emancipation on the banks of the Mississippi, the whole North, except the government, said Amen (applause). The government doubted till the 22d of September, 1862. But the moment the government pronounced the word, it floated into a dead issue, and nobody worth minding now doubts or debates about the emancipation of slaves (applause). It only shows you how strong the government is, if it will only act; how certain the heart of the people is to support it, if the government will only trust. If Mr. Lincoln could only be made to accept the line of the old huntsman song,

"Sit close in the saddle and give him his head,"

he could carry 30,000,000 of people with him over every barrier to victory and peace (loud applause). I believe, therefore, in ultimate success, because every act of the government is more than endorsed by the intelligence and virtue of the people—the *virtue of the people*. That is the only point at issue. To-day your city roars with the tumult of welcome for returning soldiers. They come back not empty handed, but bringing hope and victory on their banners. Those soldiers will find not Virginia eaten over with barrenness, not starving people, not empty treasuries; they will find a North untouched—so much money that we have not to go abroad to ask for it (applause), so much wheat that we could feed the world, such ample munitions of war that your traitor merchants smuggle it to Carolina (sensation), an untouched North, while the South, mustering all her white men and all her sympathizers the world over, has not yet touched the garnered treasure of Northern strength. We have not yet put forth the first beginning of our power. In Scripture phrase, "truly there has been a biding of our power." If we fail it will be because we deserve to, because we have not virtue enough to prefer the end to the means. There is no question but of the conscience and intelligence of the North. Now I believe in that, because thus far the government has never asked for anything, nor ventured anything that the readiness of the people has not both given and endorsed. There is my ground of hope. I do not believe in Southern exhaustion. There may be starving men at the South, starving households, ill-clad soldiers, but there is no such exhaustion as approaches despair. The South has not yet begun to play her last card. The moment she feels exhaustion she will proclaim liberty to the negro. The moment her cause touches its downfall in the judgment of its leaders, she will call the black into her ranks—call him by some proclamation of gradual emancipation which will gather to her side the heartiest sympathy of the English aristocracy. England never was an anti-slavery nation. Her ruling classes never accepted emancipation on any basis. England herself never accepted immediate abolition on any basis. As O'Connell well said, the scheme of immediate emancipation was carried over Parliament by the conscience of the middle classes, and they do not rule in England. To-day that party in the contest which offers England gradual emancipation will offer her all that her judgment approves. Before the South permits her flag to stagger she will write on it gradual emancipation and secure the House of Commons to her side. The moment she utters that word I shall admit that she feels weak in the knees—never till then. There is no exhaustion yet that touches a traitor. The men that rebelled are the slaveholders—rebelled under the pretense of slavery, with the real purpose of killing republican institutions and founding aristocratic institutions in their place. Slavery was the point to be protected, and the pretense that rallied the rebellion. But, now that it is afoot, its leaders throw off the mask, and without concealment avow at home that their object is to put this belt of the Continent under the control of aristocratic institutions, for the perpetuation of that system, among others, which they love. That element has yet felt no exhaustion, and with that element I have no plea of conciliation. I am for conciliation, but not for conciliating the slaveholder. Death to the system, and death to the master is the only motto (applause). There is a party for whom I have ever the right hand of conciliation, and whenever the foot of military despotism is lifted from that party, I believe that in the South itself we shall be surprised at the weight, strength, and number of the men that still love the Union. There is a party for whom I have conciliation, and this (taking by the hand a beautiful little girl of five years old, with a fair complexion and light auburn ringlets) is its representative. In the veins that beat now in my right hand runs the best blood in Virginia's white races and the better blood of the black race of the Old Dominion (applause) — a united race, to whom, in its virtue, belongs in the future a country, which the toil and labor of its ancestors redeemed from nature and gave to civilization and the nineteenth century (applause). For that class I have ever an open door of conciliation—the labor, the toil, the muscle, the virtue, the strength, the democracy of the Southern States. This blood represents them all—the convicted master, when he sees matters in their true light, the slave restored to his rights, when at last, for the first time in her history, Virginia has a government, and is not a horde of pirates masquerading as a government. No, the South has not yet felt the first symptom of exhaustion. Get no delusive hope that our success is to come from any such source. This war will never be ended by an event. It will never come to a conclusion by a great battle. It is too deep in its sources; it is too wide in its influence for that. The great struggle in England between Democracy and nobility lasted from 1640 to 1660, taking a king's life in its progress, and yet failed. The great struggle between the same parties in France began in 1793, and is not yet ended. Our own revolution began in 1775, and never till the outbreak of the French revolution concentrated the attention of the monarchies of Europe was this country left in peace. And it will take 10 or 20 years to clear off the scar of such a struggle. Prepare yourself for a life-long enlistment. How is the government to be held up in such a struggle? By our educating the mass, and the opinion of the mass for the great function to which Providence has summoned them. The government looks to the people for its initiative. Lord Lyons said in his dispatch to Earl Russell: "The Republican government dare not initiate a policy, it looks outward and asks what its opponents will consent to." That is now the condition of the government. Hence the necessity of outspoken, perpetual, constant education of public opinion. I do not believe in the government at Washington. I believe in the nation, I believe in events, I believe in the inevitable tendency of these coming ten years toward liberty and Union. But it is to be done as England did it in 1640, by getting rid gradually, man by man, of those who don't believe in progress, but believe in the past. And as man by man of that class retires, and we bring to the front men who are earnest in the present, victory, strength, and peace are to be the result. Now, for the present, I believe in Hooker (loud applause). Men say he has faults—faults which some of his predecessors did not have (laughter). Perhaps he has, but in my opinion a diamond with a flaw is better than a pebble without (applause). I do not set one defeat against him. I think, as Lord Bacon says, that a soldier's honor should be of a strong web which slight matters will not stick to. I believe Hooker's is of that kind. He means to fight; he knows how to fight; and those two are new elements at the head of the army (great merriment, and three cheers for Fighting Joe Hooker). How pleasant Hooker's campaign has been. Instead of that cradle lullaby that we used to hear a year ago, the news comes to us now that all is *not* quiet on the banks of the Rappahannock (applause). On the other side there are three elements. Lee means to fight, and knows how to fight, and he is deadly in earnest. The government, when it sent Hooker to the front, sent a man who means to fight, who knows how to fight; and when this week it summons Sigel to his side (loud applause), it puts earnestness to the front also (renewed applause). I look upon it as the first drop of the coming shower. We have had men who neither knew how to fight, nor meant to fight—of no ability. Now we have ability to match the other side. We yet lack earnestness, ideas, a willingness to sacrifice everything, a readiness to accept the issue, courage and industry in thinking. We have now two Generals-in-Chief and two Commanders-in-Chief. They both live in Washington. The sad news reaches us to-day that one means to take the field (laughter). Lincoln and Halleck—they sit in Washington, Commanders-in-Chief, exercising a somewhat disastrous influence, that even a Bonaparte would exercise on a battle if he tried to fight it by telegraph a hundred miles distant. But now it is said one of them means to take the field. Heaven forbid (applause). The difference between Halleck and Fremont is just this. One has not learned anything since he graduated at West Point, and does not want to. He does not mean to undertake the labor of thinking. He is too indolent to go about to examine a new idea. It is enough for him that it was not in the text books when he graduated (laughter). Battles were not fought so when he was taught, and if he is beaten according to the book he is willing to be beaten (laughter). The German commanders complained of Napoleon, when he first launched into the battle-field, that he violated all the rules. Now his Missouri rival occupied the nineteenth century, and thought out the issues for himself—had the labor of meeting a new contingency. He went to the head of the army a living man—not a dead printed book. I am beyond likes and dislikes. The day is too serious for antipathies or likings. All these men are nothing but dead lumber, to be thrown into the gulf, that the nation, over the path their bodies make, may march like an army with banners to liberty and peace (applause). But never will this rebellion be put down while West Point rules at Washington (applause). It does rule. That second Commander-in-Chief cuts off everything that outgoes his own routine. There are two great classes in the army and in the State; one is, such a man as Halleck, who hates negroes, spurns novelties, distrusts ideas, rejects everything but red tape. The others are Hamilton, Butler, Phelps and Fremont (loud applause). Sigel is in the field, and I hope he will drag in the rest (applause). The cook takes an onion and peels off layer after layer till she gets to the sweet, sound vegetable. So you will have to peel off Seward and Halleck, Blair and Chase (laughter), till you get to the sound national element of civil and military purpose, the earnest belief, the intense devotion to victory, the entire belief in justice, which can cope with Stonewall Jackson (applause). Never till then shall we succeed. I have compared Gen. Halleck and Gen. Fremont. You may take another parallel. One is Seward and another is Butler. Seward does not believe in war, but in diplomacy or compromise. He has prophesied again and again that this war, like the divisions of former times, could be quieted in 60 or 90 days. He thought so; if he had not he never would have risked his fame as a statesman upon the prophecy. He said by the voice of a regular army officer in the cabin of that ship that went down to dismantle Norfolk, when foreign-bred soldiers begged the American officers to stop and give them three hundred men to save two thousand cannon from the armies of the Confederates, and guaranteed to take that place and hold it three or six months, with 200 men—one of his class took a gentleman into the cabin and said, "You don't understand this thing; this is not a war, it is a quarrel: we have had a dozen of them; we shall get over it in sixty days." Seward believes it yet; he receives Commissioners; he sends Frenchmen to Richmond to note terms; he sends letters abroad dealing with rebels as equals in fact. Butler is the first man that ever hung a rebel (loud applause)—and it ought to be recorded on his gravestone. If I were a politician and a general, I would not live an hour until I was his twin (laughter). Let it go down to history that one-third of the nation burst into insurrection, and there was but one man, and he a Democrat, that dared to hang a felon (loud applause). He said to Louisiana, "England calls you belligerent. Fine word. You marshal armies and give commissions. All I know is, you are felons. If we take a Frenchman, we shoot him; if we take an Englishman, we shoot him; if we take a Louisianian we hang him" (applause). The whole significance of the Department of the South-west was in that gallows. The world may dignify the insurrection as it pleases, but to the government it is felony punishable by the gibbet. And when he said to the merchants of New Orleans, every inch short of the gibbet is pure grace, he represented the only theory that will ever conquer the rebellion. A government in arms against criminals who have wasted its treasures and filled 250,000 of martyred patriot graves—rebels not belligerents. Now in the two distinctions between Halleck, routine, and Fremont, Phelps, Butler, realities, is the distinction between the future in military affairs; in the differences between Seward the politician and Butler the government is the change needed in civil affairs. Why, if Seward is a Republican, God grant us a Democratic successor (laughter). I want somebody to occupy the Presidential chair who believes in the government and in the people, who will act without casting his eyes over his shoulder to see how far the people will support him. We want leaders that initiate—that actually lead. Friends, my belief is, that you and I are bound to create an expecting, imperative public opinion which shall compel the government to the adoption of such measures and such men. I say such men, because, though I believe in events, which are stronger than Cabinets, and are bearing us onward whether we will or not, I believe also in men as harmonizing the issue of events. Let me make the generals, and I don't care who makes the proclamations. Only let me put at the head of the advancing columns of the Union certain men that I could name, and the Cabinet at Washington may shut themselves up and go to sleep with Rip Van Winkle till 1872 (laughter). For I know those one blast of whose bugle horn were worth a million of men—only put them in the heart of the rebellion where our armies ought to be. For the present I believe in Hooker, and I believe in his success. But when 'tis done what of it? Gratify the North—startle Europe. So far good. But what is Virginia if she is ours? Barrenness—exhausted by two years' war—neither army able to get a pound of sustenance from her acres. It will take two years to make her a self-sustaining State. What is Richmond? You might as well take Syracuse. You might as well fling a hundred thousand men upon Worcester. Jeff. Davis can pack up twice as much as belongs to him in a carpet-bag and carry it away [laughter]. The town is a hospital. The yellow flag might be put there over every house, and we have to sustain rather than be sustained when the United States flag floats above it. Besides, I do not like to fight on the rim of the wheel and let the enemy rest on the hub [laughter]. I am no anaconda fancier [laughter]. I would be at the hub. I would put men, whose names you know too well, among the black masses of the Carolinas and Mississippi, and fight outward, grinding the rebellion to powder. That would come—leave Virginia to fall into our hands. Why, nothing keeps her from gravitating to us but the army. The slave system was dead there practically before 1861. Nothing but Confederate forces keeps her southern. And now she never can be southern. To hurt the rebellion by bringing the negro into the war, does not mean merely troops; it means localities. When we bring the negro into the war we fight on his home, in the Gulf States where he ought to fight. The heart of the rebellion is where the negro is. It is there where our army should stand; if victorious the bottom of the tub is out. And you know whose name the slave cherishes like a household word in every hovel, and at whose bidding he will rise to the stars and stripes. Will the *slave* fight? Well, if any man asks you tell him no. Will he work? If any man asks you tell him no. But if he asks you whether the *negro* will fight, tell him yes [applause]. If he asks you whether the negro will work, tell him yes—work even for patriotism without wages, as he has worked at Fortress Monroe, the United States promising him $10 a month, keeping the first $3 for any stray contrabands that might join him, taking the second $4 for clothing the contraband himself, and the other $3 which Uncle Sam keeps [laughter]. Will he fight? Ask Higginson. He says in one of his private letters, that when he carried that first regiment to St. Mary's one soldier got seven buckshot in the back of his neck, and unlike some white volunteers, afraid of the hospital, he got a comrade to dig them out with a jack-knife, and went on to the next battle [laughter]. Another, wounded in the left arm, afraid of the hospital, kept it secret 48 hours, until the swelling and pain were too great to be borne, and at last he owned up sick. A third, injured in the leg, bore it in silence for the sake of fighting one more skirmish, and then, when they sent him on picket duty, and he could not stand, owned up and went to the hospital [applause]. Do you think those men will fight? Another, with most ludicrous carelessness, went into the skirmish forward a dozen rods, fired, fell back, forward again, but it was noticed that he moved very awkwardly. When the skirmish was over, it was discovered that in order to increase his scanty rations, he had picked up a live goose when he entered the fight, and held it all the time between his legs [great laughter]. I had the pleasure, the other day, of speaking to Gen. Butler for the first time in my life, thanking him for New Orleans, and I asked him his experience with the negro. Well, said he, when McClellan was on the peninsula, I felt that I was very scant of men, and the army at Corinth might be down upon me at any day, and I said to the government, Send me men if you expect me to keep New Orleans; and they answered, We can't spare you a man, but you must hold New Orleans. I sent back word, Then I will go to Africa. He sent to the officers of the old New Orleans colored regiments, and said to them, "Will you fight for us?" "Willingly," they answered. "Then give me a regiment." In ten days they gave him a thousand men, and brought him their commissions as line officers. Said he, "Would you like to be Colonel or Major?" "No, sir; give us white men." "Then," said the Major-General, "give me another regiment," then another, and, in ninety days, four regiments and a battery; and then noticing a mulatto Captain, worth half a million, speaking five languages, welcoming him to a banquet at his own house of seven courses served on silver, he thought such a man had too much interest in New Orleans to defend it as a Captain, and offered him a Colonel's commission. The Captain answered: "No matter where I fight; I only wish to spend what I have, and fight as long as I can, if only my boy may stand in the street equal to a white boy when the war is over" [applause]. Well, your New York brother went down there, and thought he was not good enough to associate with. How that regiment was recruited you know—perhaps not in the Sixteenth Ward—those Zouaves who demanded the mustering out of officers, and almost of men, before they would fight. Now I tell you my opinion—a Yankee, and just from the hub—I don't believe that there was one man in that Zouave regiment fit to associate with the negroes of New Orleans; for the man that went down to the second city of the Union, and had it in his heart to refuse to stand side by side with its sons to defend its soil, is not worthy to associate with them [cheers]. That is the negro, the more of them the better, the only future for our army. The President said to us of Massachusetts, some three months ago, "I know I am going to lose 300,000 men in the Summer; I mean to supply their places with blacks." "Good" was our answer. "Good, because it is good policy, not because you need it." Put Butler and Fremont to the front, and the North-west will give you all you want" (cheers). "Well," he said, "do you think so?" And he said, "I mean certain Massachusetts men shall go down to New Orleans and carry 150,000 guns with them." Why have they not gone. Gen. Hamilton goes to Boston, a slaveholder, and says on our platform, "I am glad that my slaves are gone if it saves the Union." And by the way, to go back a moment, if loyal men will surrender their slaves and save the Union, don't you suppose disloyal men will surrender theirs to save the Confederacy? Do you suppose the South will stop before she puts on to her banner Emancipation? Gen. Hamilton has the promise of the government at Washington over and over again, that he may go and shut the back door of the rebellion, out of which the traitors mean to fly when they are beaten, and through which Vicksburg gets her strength to-day. Why don't he have it? Your own great fellow-citizen goes to Washington under the pledge of the President too much in a hurry to allow him to leave Washington for six hours, stays for a week, and comes back without a commission. Why? Because Abraham Lincoln is not President of the United States; because behind him, curbing his purpose, making conditions that baulk his designs, making him doubt the purpose and the strength of the North, standing round him in civil and military positions are men who do not mean that this battle shall be bravely and gallantly fought through. Cromwell never succeeded until the Long Parliament sloughed off every man that believed in the House of Lords, and left nothing but Democrats behind. We shall never succeed until we slough off everything that believes in the past, and bring to the front everything that believes there is but one purpose—that is, to save the Union on the basis of liberty [cheers]. I believe that the President may do anything to save the Union. He may take a man's houses, his lands, his bank-stock, his horses, his slaves—anything to save the Union; the government may make every slave a free man, no matter where he is. Kentucky or Louisiana, now or to-morrow, with compensation or without. Military necessity opens the door, but the moment Abraham Lincoln enters it, there is but one duty under the Constitution, that is to execute justice betwixt the master and the slave. There is but one thing the government can't do to save the nation, and that is to make a free man into a slave; everything else is within its power. I doubted somewhat when I heard the news from the Rappahannock, until I saw that reverses had taught the nation where its strength lay. Until Sigel was called to Washington, I doubted whether the government was being educated in its pathway. The moment he went, I saw sunlight behind the cloud [applause]. God grant us so many reverses that the government may learn its duty; God grant us that the war may never end till it leaves us on the solid granite of impartial liberty and justice [cheers]. What we have to teach Washington is that that is the full purpose of the million, and under it and in it is the certainty of success—the millions, not the leaders. None of them—I am utterly impartial—neither President, nor Cabinet, nor Senate. Peel off Seward, peel off Halleck, peel off Blair, peel off Sumner—yes, Massachusetts Senators as well as others. I will tell you why. When the government called on New England for a negro regiment, and we went from County to County urging the blacks to enlist, one Massachusetts Colonel dared to say, down in South Carolina, in the face of the enemy, that he had rather be whipped without negroes than conquer at their side, a Massachusetts Colonel in that hour of emergency and critical issue. His case within twenty days went before the Senate of the United States, and the very week that his apology was filed in the War Office at Washington, Massachusetts Senators begged their reluctant brothers to make him a Brigadier-General. Yes, Massachusetts Senators, thoroughly informed and put upon their guard, against the repeated remonstrance of their fellow Senators, insisted on rewarding the mutineer ["Shame, shame"]. A private, ignorant, uneducated, just mustered in the service, mutinied in the streets of Boston, and Col. Lowell shot him, rightfully [cheers]. A Massachusetts Colonel mutinied in the face of the enemy, and a Massachusetts Senator made him a Brigadier-General. Such Republicanism will never put down the rebellion [cheers]. Never until we welcome the negro, the foreigner, all races as a man, and melted together in a common nationality hurl them all at despotism, will the North deserve triumph or earn it at the hands of a just God [applause]. But the North will triumph. I hear it. Do you remember in that disastrous siege in India, when the Scotch girl raised her head from the pallet of the hospital and said to the sickening hearts of the English: "I hear the bagpipe, the Campbells are coming," and they said: "Jessie, it is delirium." "No, I know it, I heard it far off." And in an hour the bagpipe burst upon their glad ears, and the banner of England floated in triumph over their heads. So I hear in the dim distance the first notes of the jubilee rising from the hearts of the millions. Soon, very soon, you shall hear it at the gates of the citadel, and the Stars and Stripes shall guarantee Liberty from the Lakes to the Gulf [continued applause].

Horace Greeley was called upon by loud and persistent cries. He said:

Ladies and Gentlemen: The spirit that finds encouragement, the spirit which sees the certain victory in the present repulse—that spirit will surely save the Republic. I never doubted that the North was strong enough to sustain this Union. I never feared that the rebellion was strong enough to prevail over the loyalty of the country, but when I have looked in the faces of our fellow-citizens here—when I have seen the Copperheadism of New York exult, as I know it did exult, when last Thursday's news—happily, not true—of disasters on the Rappahannock reached us, I have feared that that spirit might destroy the Republic ["Never"]. I hope that that spirit has seen its worst days. I hope that it has lost its strength, and that the day of exultation to them but of calamity to us, has passed away. I do not ask how long God shall try us by reverses and disappointments, and, it may be, disasters. I do not ask, nor care, since I know it will not be one day too long. If we need more trials we shall have more trials, and if we are worthy to triumph now we shall find this rebellion disappear like the dew of the morning. When the time shall come for it to fall, it will fall suddenly and utterly, and pass out of sight like a mist [cheers]. That I know, and if I could feel this hour that the American people—I mean the people of the loyal States—were worthy to triumph this hour, I should know that there were no more hours of life for the rebellion. When the time shall come, we shall all see that the hand of God has been in this struggle from the beginning, making the friends of slavery the bitterest and the most effective enemies slavery ever had, and making in all things the folly of man contribute to the overthrow of the most pernicious and majestic system of torture and injustice, of vice and iniquity the world has ever seen. In this faith I stand, still believing, trusting, hoping, ready always for peace, all the time welcoming peace, but knowing that peace will never come until the nation shall have been perfected through trial and suffering, ready to welcome a just, beneficent and lasting peace, and content with no other [loud and continued applause].

William Lloyd Garrison came forward in response to loud calls. He said:

Ladies and Gentlemen: I think, somehow or other, that you have mistaken me for another man [cheers]. In one of the songs of the contrabands at Port Royal the lines run thus:

"Dun no what de people want ob me,
Dun no what de people want ob me,"

And I am in a similar state of bewilderment on this occasion. I hardly know what you want of me, because after you have summoned to your presence my eloquent friend Wendell Phillips, and have endorsed him so cordially this evening; after you have shown your respect for the memory of John Brown, whose soul is still marching on [cheers], and after you have endorsed Gen. Butler himself [great applause], if I should say anything, however strong, against the rebellion or against slavery, I should be accused of stealing their thunder [cheering]. Mr. Garrison proceeded to declare himself against the rebellion, root and branch, and against its cause, slavery. There must not one slave be left under the Star Spangled Banner. He was for the Constitution and the Union if they meant liberty. This struggle, if it was not for liberty, was not worthy of the smile of God, and could not meet his approval. There were those of old who cried "Peace, peace, when there was no peace"; Copperheads of our day were their legitimate descendants. We could have no peace with two antagonistic elements. We must be all one or all the other, and by the grace of God, we would be on the side of freedom [cheers]. To-morrow he was to attend the Thirtieth Anniversary of the Anti-Slavery Society. He trusted in God there would be no need of holding any other except the next one to complete their third decade, and then celebrate the Jubilee, when every man should be a man, and every chain should be severed, and from one end of our country to the other there should be none left to molest or make afraid. He concluded: I am for the abolition of the rebellion, I am for the abolition of slavery, and I am also for the abolition of the American Anti-Slavery Society [laughter and cheers], and those who want that Society abolished had better do all in their power at once and forever to put down slavery. Abraham Lincoln has shown himself very hostile to future anti-slavery agitation, by proclaiming liberty to more than 3,000,000 of slaves; and I will thank him with all my heart, and in the name of justice and humanity, if he will complete his work by "proclaiming liberty throughout the land unto all the inhabitants thereof" [loud cheers].

The meeting then adjourned.

THE CONFEDERATE LOAN.

Oh, England! hide thy blushing face,
  Or rouse with anger at the thought;
Thy sons forget their name and race,
  And help the land where men are bought,
Where right is claimed for foulest wrong,
To sell the helpless to the strong.

Not for the myriad groans of men
  In hopeless toil or hunted flight,
Nor woman's keener anguish when,
  Child after child sold from her sight,
The mother of a scattered race,
Tenfold alone, goes to her place;

Not for the lash, the brand, the fire,
  The morals that pollute our kind:
But for the guilt that dares aspire
  To justify them to mankind—
Wake, England! 'Tis an insult hurled
Against the patience of the world.

Wake, mother of the brave and free!
  While wondering nations whisper shame,
Disown a deed unworthy thee,
  And show that thou art still the same
As when thou gav'st with willing smiles
The ransom of thy Indian isles.

Champions of freedom in the West!
  Know, with the gold that helps your foes,
From countless hearts of England's best
  A loathing malediction goes.
Though pride and mammon blind a few,
The people's heart is all with you.

—*London Dial.* F. R. R.

THE SLAVE STAMPEDE FROM MISSOURI.

From The St. Louis Democrat

Under the head of "A Rascally Business," *The Evening News* tells a wonderful story about the slave emigration which is going on from the western Counties of this State to Kansas. It is that the Kansas "Red Legs" are driving negroes off in droves from Missouri, first to Kansas, and then down to the Indian country, where they are sold to the Cherokees and Choctaws—$300 or $400 being the Indian price for a negro man and proportionate prices for the women and children.

We have no doubt of the fact that the slaves along the Western border are leaving the State in large numbers, but we are well satisfied that blacklegs have a great deal more to do with carrying them off than "Red Legs." A pretty good evidence that this is the case, is the fact that the negro "deportation" business is by no means confined to the Western Counties where the Red Legs are supposed to abound. All over the State slaves are making themselves scarce in a manner by no means agreeable to those having investments in them. Along the Kansas line, where the Canaan of negro freedom is easily accessible, the exodus is no more than might be expected. About St. Louis the slaves have nearly given up running away. Instead, they simply give regular notices "to quit," and when the time comes they pack up and go. We are aware of numerous instances in which slaves, thus self-emancipated, are living in the immediate neighborhood of their masters, enjoying all the practical fruits of freedom.

The story of the Red Legs selling their black trophies to the Red Skins is perfectly reasonable, upon the hypothesis that the liberated negro, after he has got to a land of freedom, is willing to go down into a slaveholding territory and quietly submit to be sold for somebody else's benefit — otherwise it looks very much like a hoax of large dimensions.

The Republican, we see, republishes *The News's* article, and in the same column, and immediately beneath it, gives a letter from a correspondent, writing from one of the border counties, who complains bitterly of the same negro stampede, but who has quite a different theory as to what becomes of the negroes. Says he, speaking of slaves escaping from his own county:

"An average of fifteen go every week, taking with them a horse apiece. In addition, those who are enlisting them for the service of the United States, take about as many more horses from the farmers. That they are recruited for the service, we have full proof—and that they go in immediately after they get to Kansas is true, for they are seen in the ranks."

Now if the negroes are sold to the Cherokees and Choctaws, it is very certain they can't be "seen in the ranks" of the Federal army, and if they do "enlist for the service of the United States" we suspect they will be more likely to get the Indians than the Indians to get them. The two stories don't hang very well together.

The Clerical Defenders of Slavery.—I am hurt in my soul not only to think how, in this nation, the doctrine of manhood has been corrupted, and the wickedness of slavery has been entailed upon us, but to think how religion itself has been perverted. I am hurt in my soul that the pulpits of my brethren, either by silence, or, as in thousands of instances, by direct and positive teaching, have taken the Word of God, which was meant to be a charter of human liberties, and made it to be a burden hard to be borne, which they would not teach with so much as their little finger. I am sorry for the poor outcasts in New York. I never see a drabbled woman in the street that I do not feel, almost, that if it would save her and hers I could die. I do not see thieves herded together, who, by neglects or wrongs, have been led into their evil ways, without having pity stronger than anything else. They must be restrained, they must be punished; but they are deserving of pity. I never see men with violent passions swept from their feet, that I do not remember that they and I are of the same bone and flesh, and liable to the same things; and that I do not temper judgment with compassion. But I will say that there is one case in which I feel utterly void of pity and compassion. When I see hoary and reverend presidents of colleges spending their years to pervert the minds of those who are under their care, and to make men believe that it is right to hold men in slavery; when I see men sitting upon liberty and employing that liberty to destroy the liberties of the poor and the weak in the community; when I see men take Calvary as a platform from which to plead God himself for the destruction of God's image, I have no heart; I am adamant; I curse them in the name of my God! I fain would think that some of them have repented in this life to the salvation of their souls; but I fear that some of them have died without repentance. Pray, pray that you may not be surprised by such a death, by such an eternity, or by such an awful terror of torment, as they must have resting on them forever and forever, gnawing their heart and gnawing their conscience, who have taken the blood of atonement that they might seal men over to the devil therewith.—*H. W. Beecher's Fast Day Sermon.*

The True Test.—It is when I look upon my bright boy that slavery enters my soul like a sword. It is when he, with sparkling eye, comes home from school, that I remember that, in all the South, there is not a school for colored children that is not a penitentiary. It is when I see my boy leaping with enthusiasm and joy that I remember how many thousands of children there are who are not permitted to know any such experiences as his. Not the little buttercups of the field, not the daisies of the meadow, are half so sweet as a school of children just let out. And I never behold them that I do not think, "Thousands and thousands of such as these are not simply neglected and ignorant, but are not allowed to be taught." It is a crime to teach them. And in their bonds I remember them as bound with them. And when I think of the majesty of woman's love; when I think of the sacredness of a mother's name; when I think what it is to be an elder sister; and when I know that the daughters of my people are bought on inspection, and selected with infernal lecherous taste, all through the South, that there is no voice to speak in their behalf, that there is no pulpit that dare say nay to these outrages, that there is not an apostate scoundrel minister that dare plead for Christ's image against such prostitution, is it strange that my heart burns within me? Was the establishment of the abominable system that permits such things the errand for which our fathers came hither? Was it for that that this continent was given to us? Was it preserved from monarchs that pirates might take it, and that the infernal orgies of hell might have place and room?—*H. W. Beecher's Fast Day Sermon.*

What the War Proves and what it does not Prove.—An enemy of American institutions will exclaim, What! when you behold a bloody civil war raging in the very heart of the American Union, will you dare to say that a Federal Union tends to prevent wars? I do say so. It does tend to prevent wars by the most effectual and least expensive of all methods. My supposed American has shown what that method is. If other proofs were wanting, the eighty years' history of the United States would be proof sufficient. It will not prevent all wars, because there are wars which arise from causes which are irrespective of the general principles of a government. A war arising out of an attempt to restore an expelled dynasty in 1745 proved nothing against the general principles of the British Constitution. A bloody civil war in Ireland in 1798 proved nothing against the general principles of the British Constitution. It proved, perhaps, that the Irish people had not been treated in that spirit of justice and forbearance which wise rulers extend indifferently to every part of their dominions. The Sepoy rebellion was reasonable evidence of the vicious constitution of the Indian army, but was no proof of unsoundness in the general system of British rule in India. So a bloody civil war in America, arising out of a rebellion of slave-owners, is damning proof against the institution of slavery, but proves nothing whatever against republican or federal governments. It proves that people who, to save themselves from present suffering, tolerate great crimes, bring upon themselves, sooner or later, great calamities, but it leaves the questions of universal suffrage, elective sovereigns and federal Unions exactly where they were. These may be very bad things, but the American people, after long experience of them, do not think them so, and there is nothing in the civil war now raging in America to prove them so.—*London Daily News.*

Advertisements.

Ayer's Sarsaparilla is a concentrated extract of Para Sarsaparilla, so combined with other substances of still greater alterative power as to afford an effective antidote for diseases Sarsaparilla is reputed to cure. Such a remedy is surely wanted by those who suffer from Strumous complaints, and that one which will accomplish their cure must prove of immense service to this large class of our afflicted fellow citizens. How completely this compound will do it has been proven by experiment on many of the worst cases to be found in the following complaints:

Scrofula and Scrofulous Complaints, Eruptions and Eruptive Diseases, Ulcers, Pimples, Blotches, Tumors, Salt Rheum, Scald Head, Syphilis and Syphilitic Affections, Mercurial Disease, Dropsy, Neuralgia or Tic Doloreux, Debility, Dyspepsia and Indigestion, Erysipelas, Rose or St. Anthony's Fire, and indeed the whole class of complaints arising from impurity of the Blood.

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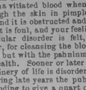

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